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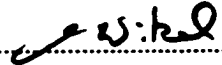
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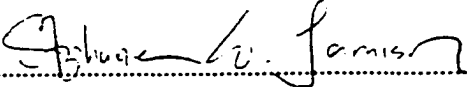
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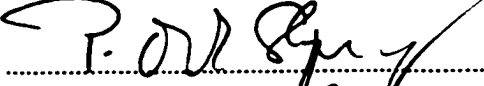
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**The Paippalāda Saṃhitā of the Atharvaveda:
A Critical Edition, Translation, and Study
of Books 13 and 14.**

A thesis presented

By

Carlos Alfredo Lopez

to

The Department of Sanskrit and Indian Studies

In partial fulfillment for the requirements
of the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the subject of
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ABSTRACT

The Paippalāda Saṃhitā of the Atharvaveda: A Critical Edition, Translation, and Study of books 13 and 14.

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The Atharvaveda, the second oldest Indian text, is known to have existed in nine *śākhā-s* or schools. From the nine *śākhā-s* of the Atharvaveda, two saṃhitā-s – Paippalāda and Śaunaka – have been transmitted and preserved until the present. The two saṃhitā-s share about 75 % of their content, and each contains material that is not found in the other. While both saṃhitā-s share much sorcery, speculative, and *gṛhya* ‘domestic’ ritual material, the Paippalāda Saṃhitā, in addition, contains material that focuses on the royal consecration ritual. The Paippalāda Saṃhitā thus provides a glimpse into the political and social conditions as well as the religious developments of the post Ṛgvedic Period not offered by the Śaunaka Saṃhitā.

This thesis presents the first critical edition, as well as the first translation and study, of the thirteenth and fourteenth books of the Paippalāda Saṃhitā of the Atharvaveda. The editor has adopted the method of textual criticism detailed by Paul Maas (1958) and has incorporated recent advances in the understanding of the transmission of oral and written texts in South Asia. In preparing the critical edition, two crucial, and often ignored, sources of error in the transmission of Vedic and Sanskrit texts have been studied: (1) the influence of local languages on the pronunciation and recitation of Vedic and Sanskrit; and (2) the influence of the historical development of the scripts used in the written transmission. For the present edition, this means the influence of Kashmiri and Oriya upon the pronunciation of Vedic, as well as the historical development of Indian scripts, paying special attention to the history of Śāradā, the local script of Kashmir, and Oriya, the local script of Orissa, as well as the development of the Early Nāgarī script in the post-Gupta period.

In preparing the critical edition, five manuscripts have been used, including facsimiles of two palm-leaf manuscripts obtained by D.M. Bhattacharya in the 1950's and recently used by Dipak Bhattacharya for his edition of 1997 books 1-15. In the introduction, the recent edition of Bhattacharya, which was published while the present thesis was in progress, is discussed critically.

The translation that accompanies the edition aims to be as literal as possible, while providing a clear understanding of the material contained in the Paippalāda Saṃhitā. The notes provide information on grammatical and philological points, problems of paleography, and oral transmission. The notes aim also to provide specialists and non-specialists alike with information relevant to an understanding of Vedic and Hindu religion and culture.

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ABBREVIATIONS

An	Anuṣṭubh pāda
ĀpŚS	Āpastambha Śrautasūtra
AV	Atharvaveda
AVPariś	Atharvaveda Pariśiṣṭa
BĀU	Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad
Bh	Dipak Bhattacharya's edition of PS 1-15
B _T	Barret's transcription of Kā
BŚS	Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra
CA	Śaunakīyā Caturādhyāyikā
CU	Chāndogya Upaniṣad
GB	Gopatha Brāhmaṇa
Gu _c	Paippalāda Saṃhitā, Guhiapal manuscript
Ja	Jagannathpur manuscript, use by Bhattacharya (1997).
JB	Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa
Jg	Jagatī pāda
JUB	Jaiminiya Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa
Kā	Paippalāda Saṃhitā, Kashmir manuscript
Kā _{sm}	Paippalāda Saṃhitā, Kashmir manuscript, <i>secunda manu</i>
KĀ	Kaṭha Āraṇyaka
KauśS	Kauśika Sūtra
KS	Kaṭha Saṃhitā
KpS	Kapiṣṭhala Saṃhitā
Ma _{2c}	Paippalāda Saṃhitā, Mahantipur manuscript
Mā _{1c}	Paippalāda Saṃhitā, Makanda manuscript
MBh	Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali
MHB	Mahābhārata
MS	Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā
MŚS	Mānava Śrautasūtra
MW	Monier-Williams Sanskrit Dictionary
NU	Nīlarudra Upaniṣad
P	Pāṇini, sūtra from the Aṣṭadhyāyī
Pa _c	Paippalāda Saṃhitā, Parikula manuscript
PB	Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa
PS	Paippalāda Saṃhitā
PSK	Paippalāda Saṃhitā, Kashmir branch
PSO	Paippalāda Saṃhitā, Orissa branch
RV	Ṛgveda
RVKhil	Ṛgveda Khilās
ŚāṅkhŚS	Śāṅkhāyana Śautrasūtra
ŚB	Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa
ŚvetU	Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad

ŚS	Śaunaka Saṃhitā, Roth-Whitney edition
ŚS _{SPP}	Śaunaka Saṃhitā, Śaṅkar Pāṇḍuraṅ Pandit edition
SV	Sāmaveda
TĀ	Taittirīya Āraṇyaka
Tr	Triṣṭubh pāda
TU	Taittirīya Upaniṣad
TS	Taittirīya Saṃhitā
Vā	Vasudevpur manuscript, used by Bhattacharya (1997)
VaitS	Vaitāna Sūtra
VādhŚS	Vādhūla Śrautasūtra
VS	Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā
VSK	Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā, Kāṇva
YV	Yajurveda

Note on Translation

The primary aim of this thesis is to provide an accurate edition and translation of the text of the Paippalāda Saṃhitā. All translations of Sanskrit material in the introductory matter are my own unless otherwise noted. Translation of the Paippalāda text here edited is my own.

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Introduction

VEDIC LITERATURE AND THE ATHARVAVEDA TRADITION

The earliest known literature from India,¹ or, to be more precise, from the cultural entity² that we label India, is the Veda. The term itself carries several connotations, depending who is using it and who is reading it.³

Within the Hindu tradition, Veda refers to the eternal and immutable texts that have been composed by the primordial sages (*ṛṣi-s*). These range from the earliest texts – the Ṛgveda (RV), the Sāmaveda (SV), Yajurveda (YS) and Atharvaveda (AV) – to the relatively recent Purāṇas, all of which are traditionally attributed to the famous sage Vyāsa.⁴ In theory, the epics composed in

¹ The earliest known texts from India are those written in the Indus Valley Script, which remains untranslated. For recent discussions on this topic, see Parpola (1993), G. L. Possehl (1996), and Witzel (1999b).

² India, as cultural entity, is not confined to the political boundaries of the modern nation-state of India. In general, it may be said to include the area from the modern Kabul River to the tip of southern India and Śrī Laṅka, and to the north, it encompasses Kashmir and Nepal.

³ A similar confusion is found with reference to the term Torah. In any instance that the term is used, it can simultaneously mean the first five books (TANAK), the whole of the Old Testament or the 'oral' Torah.

⁴ Vyāsa Kṛṣṇadvaipāyana, literally the 'arranger', from *vi* + *vās*, is traditionally named as the author of Mahābhārata, the 18 mahāpurāṇas, and as the compiler of the Vedas.

performance – the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa – as well as the Allah Upaniṣad, a very late upaniṣad, can also be traditionally referred to as Veda.

The question of the meaning of the term Veda has become the topic of much scholarly discussion in recent years, which culminated in the publication of Laurie Patton's *Authority, Anxiety, and Canon: Essays in Vedic Interpretation*. Although the title is somewhat misleading – implying that its scope is the interpretation of these texts within the context of Vedic culture – this work highlights the important issue of the meaning and interpretation of the term Veda in the culture and traditions that succeeded Vedic culture and religion. Taking the perspective of Jonathan Z. Smith, that “canon is a salutary category in the study of religion because it incorporates questions of authority and innovation simultaneously,”⁵ the contributors to Patton's volume argue that the essence of the Veda has been integrated into later traditions. What we learn is that within the Hindu tradition(s) the term Veda has been and continues to be re-interpreted in new contexts of authority (religious and political) and used to grant authority to new religious ideas.

The scholarly and native discussion of the meaning of Veda is not restricted to texts and traditions that emerged out of the Vedas themselves. In her 1994 book, Vasudha Narayanan has explored the meaning of Veda and its relation the

⁵ Patton (1994: 2).

tenth century Tamil poem, the *Tiruvāymoli*. As she explains:

Specifically, the Śrīvaiṣṇava tradition today considers the *Tiruvāymoli* to be similar to the Sanskrit Veda in two important ways but different in one aspect. Both the Tamil and the Sanskrit Vedas are the eternal word, and, second, they contain the same message; the *Tiruvāymoli*, however, is perceived to be more lucid and accessible than the Sanskrit Veda.⁶

These discussions of the *Tiruvāymoli* as the Tamil Veda are found as early as the thirteenth century work of Alaliya Maṇavāḷa Nāyaṇār's *Ācārya Hṛdayam*.

Given the re-thinking of the term Veda within the traditions of the subcontinent, one must begin by defining the term Veda in order to be able to circumscribe the extent of Vedic literature as well as the position of the AV therein. In modern scholarship, Veda implies not only the traditional definition, but also includes the understanding of the term within the academic disciplines of Indology and Religious Studies. Following Śaṅkara's knowledge of the Vedic texts, some modern scholars understand Veda to encompass the *vedānta* 'end of the Veda,' the literature that ranges from the Ṛgveda to the Upaniṣads. Within the sub-discipline of modern Vedic Studies, Veda can refer to the four Vedic saṃhitā-s, to the Ṛgveda exclusively, or to the corpus of literature, whose focus is the Vedic ritual.

For the present discussion, I will use Veda to refer to the corpus of Vedic literature whose focus is primarily the Vedic ritual, which has been composed,

⁶ Narayanan (1994: 19).

preserved, and transmitted orally. These texts were taught orally and recited on the offering ground. Vedic literature is “oral” in a somewhat different sense than that described by Albert Lord regarding the Homeric Epic.⁷ Stephanie Jamison summarizes the features of the broad oral-formulaic aspects of Vedic literature as follows:

Though much of it is in verse, it is poetry of a different stripe from epic – condensed, elliptical, grammatically scrambled. The language is formulaic in the broad sense, but it makes surprisingly little use of metrically fixed and verbally frozen formulae in the strict sense.⁸

The form of the hymns was fixed relatively early and preserved without variation, probably during the early Vedic period, at a time when new hymns were still being composed and the ‘Vedic canon’ was still open. For the most part, these texts were transmitted orally through *śākhā-s*,⁹ or schools, for a lengthy period before being written down.¹⁰ The earliest surviving Vedic manuscripts, written without accents, are from a much later period (ca. 1000 AD from Nepal).

⁷ See Lord (1960).

⁸ Jamison (1991: 8).

⁹ Each theological or ritual tradition originated from a small group of followers of a particular Veda in a relatively small geographical area of North India. As time passed, an individual Veda was preserved and transmitted through a school that also produced additional exegetical texts proper to its own Veda.

¹⁰ Writing in India is relatively late as compared with other Indo-European cultures. In addition to the Indus Valley Script, still not deciphered, the earliest example of writing in India comes with the edicts of Aśoka, ca. 269-232 BC. For the most recent discussion on history of writing in Indian, see Falk (1993).

The level of accuracy of the oral tradition varies from Veda to Veda. The Ṛgveda, the oldest Indian text, is the most accurately preserved and transmitted of the Vedic texts. The collection of *ṛc-s* ‘verses,’ which was the intellectual property of certain families, or clans, has been transmitted word for word, unchanged, for the last 3000 years or more. The accuracy of the transmission of the ṚV can be seen not only on the level of verse and hymn, but also in the precision of the accentuation. Each word, and more importantly each accent, has been carefully preserved. If one goes to different areas of India where Ṛgvedic recitation is still alive today, one can still hear what can be regarded as “a tape recording” of the recitation of the same text that was recited in ca. 1200 BC.

The transmission of other Vedas, however, has not been nearly as well preserved as that of the ṚV. The received texts of individual traditions with a small base of reciters have had increasingly more errors in the oral and later written transmission of their texts.¹¹ In turn, this has led to a situation where little control over the accuracy of the medieval manuscript tradition was possible. Once the oral tradition was lost or weakened, no mechanisms were in place to correct errors that entered into the manuscript tradition. The worst transmission case is the Atharvaveda, where the true oral tradition of the two surviving śākhā-s

¹¹ Among the traditions with small or non-existent bases of reciters, one can count the Paippalāda and the Śaunaka traditions of the AV, the Jaiminīya tradition of the SV, and the Vādhūla, Maitrāyaṇī and Kāṭha traditions of the YV.

has been lost completely. One result of the poor transmission of the AV can be observed in the present situation in Gujarat. Atharvaveda Brahmins claiming to belong to the Paippalāda śākhā recite only the first few lines of the Paippalāda Saṃhitā (PS) and then continue reciting the Śaunaka Saṃhitā (ŚS) text.

Why have Gujarati Atharvaveda Brahmins preserved such a complicated oral tradition? The answer must lie in the prestige associated with the Paippalāda śākhā and its text. It is known from important early sources that the Paippalāda was probably the better-known text among the nine śākhā-s of the AV, along with the Mauda School. This fact is supported by epigraphic material that shows that the PS was taught and studied in Gujarat at an early period.¹² When the Paippalāda tradition was lost, the local Atharva Brahmins turned to the only available AV text, namely the Śaunaka Saṃhitā. However, remembering the opening lines of the PS,¹³ they inserted these verses at the beginning of their recitation. The reason must certainly have been the prestigious status associated with this old school. In this manner, the Gujarati Atharva Brahmins continued to study the Atharvaveda, in its Śaunaka text, while at the same time maintaining their historical connection and claim to the Paippalāda School.

In Orissa, where the Śaunaka text was introduced only some 60 years ago,

¹² See Table III, below.

¹³ PS 1.1.1: *śaṃ no devir abhiṣṭaya āpo bhavantu pītaye / śaṃ yor abhi sravantu nas //*

the situation is slightly different. AV Brahmins recite the text of the PS that has been secondarily learned from manuscripts. The secondary nature of the oral tradition can be seen in the many *lacunae* detected in the recitation, which exactly match the *lacunae* in the available manuscripts from Orissa.

Chronology of Vedic Literature

Absolute dates in Ancient India are extremely difficult to establish before the Muslim incursions in 1030 AD.¹⁴ Dates based on external evidence are few: the Mitanni treaty¹⁵ of 1380 BC; the archaeological attestation of iron, ca. 1150;¹⁶ and the date of the Buddha (486 BC according to Bechert¹⁷). These dates, plus the end of the urban phase of the Indus Civilization around 1900 BC, point to a date of ca. 1500 BC for the earliest hymns of the Ṛgveda.

One way to approach the problem of absolute dates in Ancient India is to start from our most important source of evidence: the Vedic texts themselves. The traditional Brāhmanic typologies as well as the modern, linguistic-level chronology start out from the same place, the texts. However, the linguistic-level

¹⁴ See Rau (1983) and Mylius (1970).

¹⁵ This well-known Hurrian document mentions the major Ṛgvedic deities – Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, and the Nāsatyas. For a concise discussion, see Mallory (1989).

¹⁶ See Erdosy (1995).

¹⁷ See Bechert (1982).

typology provides an independent system for checking and counter-checking the traditional typology.

Traditional Indian Typology

The traditional Indian typology classifies and divides Vedic texts into four levels or categories: *saṃhitā-s*, *brāhmaṇa-s*, *āraṇyaka-s*, and *upaniṣad-s*.

The *saṃhitā-s* consist of stanzas and prose mantras that are recited, sung or mumbled during the later, classical Vedic ritual. The *brāhmaṇa-s* contain theological explanations of the meaning of the ritual. The *āraṇyaka* texts, the so-called “wilderness books,” develop the cosmic side of the *brāhmaṇa* speculations into esoteric explanations of more secret and dangerous rituals and generally serve as a catchall for later texts of each particular school. The *upaniṣad-s* further develop the speculative trend begun in the *brāhmaṇa* texts, making the link between the sacrifice (mesocosm), the cosmos (macrocosm), and the individual (microcosm).

The traditional typology reflects the growth of the literary corpus. *Brāhmaṇa-s* quote from the earlier *saṃhitā-s*, while *upaniṣad-s* quote from all preceding texts. While this typology helps to establish certain groupings of texts, it fails to provide any sense of clearly identified historical levels. The limits of the traditional analysis have sometimes led to misclassifications that have tended to obfuscate the actual historical levels of the development of the texts.

One example of such chronological confusion has been illustrated by Witzel regarding Taittirīya Āraṇyaka (TĀ).¹⁸ His close study of this text revealed that TĀ is a chronologically composite text. Five sections are clearly identified: (1) a very young TĀ1, originally from the lost Kaṭha Brāhmaṇa (KaṭhB); (2) TĀ2 (from another section of the lost KaṭhB) as well as older mantra-s; (3) TĀ 3-6, the brāhmaṇa portion, and core of TĀ, which includes the TĀ treatment of the ancient *pravargya* ritual; (4) TĀ 7-9 = Taittirīya Upaniṣad 1-3; and (5) TĀ 10, the younger Nārayaṇa Upaniṣād.

Linguistic-level Chronology

A more secure guide to understanding the historical levels of Vedic texts can be constructed based on the development of Vedic Sanskrit. Five distinct levels of development can be identified: Ṛgveda, Mantra Language, Saṃhitā Prose, Brāhmaṇa Prose, and Sūtra Language.¹⁹

Ṛgveda: The ṚV stands as a unique example in the development of Vedic Sanskrit that is best characterized as the last stage in the development of Indo-Iranian poetry. The ṚV shares many features with Old Iranian, especially Avestan, which no longer appear in post-ṚV literature.

Mantra language: This level includes the mantra-s found in the verse and prose of the Atharvaveda (PS, ŚS), ṚV Khilās (ṚVKh), Sāmaveda Saṃhitā (SV) and

¹⁸ See Witzel (1977).

¹⁹ See Narten (1964), Hoffmann (1967), and Witzel (1989a).

Yajurveda Saṃhitā-s (YV). Mantra language is characterized by several developments that distinguish it from the language of the RV. These include the gradual loss of the injunctive, the loss of the allegro forms of $\sqrt{kṛ}$ in non-Rgvedic contexts, and the replacement of *viśva* by *sarva*, which comes to mean both ‘whole’ and ‘all’.

Saṃhitā Prose: The text of the Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā (MS), Kaṭha Saṃhitā (KS), Kapiṣṭhala Saṃhitā (KpS), and Taittirīya Saṃhitā (TS) contain the first examples of expository prose consisting of brāhmaṇa-type explanations of the ritual. The developments that characterize this level include: the complete loss of the injunctive as a living category, the disappearance of the moods of the aorist (subjunctive, optative, and imperative), the development of periphrastic aorist forms, and the gradual breakdown of the distinction of the preterit (imperfect-aorist-perfect).

Brāhmaṇa prose: This level includes the brāhmaṇa-s of all four Vedas, the older upaniṣad-s (BĀU, ChU, JUB, etc.), late additional brāhmaṇa-s (Vādhūla Anvākhyāna, GB), and some older śrautasūtra-s (BŚS, VādhŚS, ŚŚS). Features of this level include the complete loss of the periphrastic aorist, the appearance of compounds like *yat-kāma*- ‘having a particular wish,’ adverbs like *sāyam* ‘in the evening,’ and the appearance of hyper-characterized subjunctives.

Sūtra language: This last level of Vedic language includes the śrautasūtra-s, gṛhyasūtra-s, and the late upaniṣad-s (not of sectarian character) such as Kaṭha Upaniṣad, Maitrāyaṇī Upaniṣad, etc. These texts are not categorized as Vedic

texts proper in the traditional typological system. For the most, their content rather than language is Vedic. However, a few linguistic indications of this level can be seen in the texts: Epic *vṛṇute* < *vṛnoti*, neuter pl. in -ā, and the erroneous use of -tvā.²⁰

²⁰ See Tsuji (1977).

THE ATHARVAVEDA

A *Atharvaveda Literature*

The Atharvaveda (AV), the fourth Veda, is distinguished from the *trayī vidyā* ‘the threefold wisdom’ – Ṛgveda, Yajurveda and Sāmaveda – mainly in content. The AV tradition largely represents the popular side of Vedic culture and religion. It contains hymns (spells) for healing of various illnesses, the removal of demons, love-spells, speculative hymns about particular forces of the cosmos – such as *ucchiṣṭa* ‘the remnant,’ *odana* ‘porridge,’ and the *śataudanā* cow ‘the cow with 100-*odana*-s,’ – as well as material relevant to *gṛhya* ‘domestic’ rituals, such as marriage, initiation, and death.

The AV stands apart from the other three Vedas because it does not treat the subject of *śrauta* or sacred rituals as its main topic. The RV itself does not refer to the atharvan charms by their oldest name, *ātharvāṅgīrasa* (ŚS 10.7.20)²¹ or by any other name.²² The position of the AV in *śruti*²³ reflects the other three

²¹ This is the oldest name of the fourth Veda, according to Bloomfield (1899), as found in the heading of the manuscripts of the AV Saṃhitā.

²² A detailed discussion of the position of the AV in Hindu literature can be found in Bloomfield (1899). In the above discussion, only the most important details are highlighted.

²³ *Śruti*, literally ‘hearing’, refers in the later tradition to the “revealed” and divinely inspired texts classified under saṃhitā, brāhmaṇa and āraṇyaka, as

Vedas' preoccupation with matters of sacrifice. Thus, it is no surprise to find the continual mention and exaltation of the *trayī vidyā*, whose main concern is purely ritual.

In RV 10.90.9, the three primeval Vedic categories are mentioned:

*tásmād yajñāt sarvahúta ṛcaḥ sāmāni jajñire /
chándāṃsi jajñire tásmād yájus tásmād ajāyata*

From that sacrifice, a complete offering, the *ṛc-s* and *sāman-s* were born. The meters were born from that. The *yajus* were born from that.

The Vedic texts are generally mentioned in this order in later literature. Even in the AV itself, the sequence is followed, and when the atharvan text is mentioned it comes last on the list. For example, AV 10.7.20

*yásmād ṛco apátakṣan yájur yásmād apákāṣan /
sāmāni yásya lómāny atharvāṅgiráso mukham*

From whom they fashioned off the *ṛc-s*, from whom they scraped off the *yajus*, whose hair is the *sāman-s* are the hair (and whose) mouth are the Atharva and Aṅgirasas.

However, when the AV is mentioned in śrauta texts, it is regularly counted as the fourth Veda.²⁴

Like all Vedic literature, the AV has been preserved and transmitted through its various Av śākhā-s. Each branch, or school, has preserved its Veda in

compared to *smṛti* 'that which is remembered' texts that have human authors, such as dharmaśūtra-s.

²⁴ Bloomfield (1897: xxxi-xxxv).

a nearly identical fashion. Each of the *saṃhitā*-s and its associated texts (brāhmaṇa-s, prātiśākhya-s, śrautasūtra-s, grhyasūtra-s, etc.) show a clear affinity to one another. Often different schools will preserve certain parts of the tradition identically while showing significant variation elsewhere that distinguishes a particular śākhā as different from another.

The literary tradition²⁵ provides evidence for the existence of the AV in nine śākhā-s: Paippalāda, Taudāyana, Maudāyana, Śaunakīya, Jājala, Jalada, Brahnavada, Devadarśa and Cāraṇavaidya. Of these nine schools, only two have survived, the Śaunakīya (the so-called Vulgate) and the Paippalāda.

Given the existence of these closely related, sister *saṃhitā*-s, it is remarkable that PS generally agrees, as far as the form of particular words, with the RV rather than with ŚS. However, when ŚS has marked deviations from RV in terms of particular words or phrasing, PS and ŚS generally agree. This general agreement has lead scholars to postulate a Mantra-period collection of typical Atharvavedic material to accounts for the shared grhya material found in both recensions of the AV, and in the RV, especially in its book 10.²⁶ This has lead to

²⁵ Mention is found in the following sources: 1) two Cāraṇavyūha-s: the 5th Paṇiṣṭa of the White YV and the 49th Paṇiṣṭa of the AV; 2) Pāṇini and Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* and other grammatical literature; 3) reports in Purāṇa-s and other late literature; and 4) incidental statements in AV literature. See Chap. IIA below.

²⁶ The language, content, and arrangement show that RV 10 is a late collection, since these hymns were composed with knowledge of the other books and even

the further supposition of an original “floating mass” of originally atharvan hymns that must have been taken over into the appendix-like RV 10. Forming the outermost frame around the core of the RV collection, book 10 contains material that is often un-Rgvedic in nature when compared to the material contained in the core books 2-7. This material resembles instead the grhya material of PS 18 = ŚS 13-18 and the speculative material of PS 16-17 = ŚS 8-12. The codification of this material in RV 10 is likely to have taken place approximately 300 years before the Mantra-period collection of Atharvavedic material which was probably composed, adapted, and redacted during the Kuru Hegemony.²⁷ Thus, it is to be expected that the RV would contain no references to a collection, which in the Rgvedic period itself had neither been redacted nor yet become canonical.²⁸

Some of this ur-AV material may go back to a tradition of Indo-European

of their order. See Witzel (1995c).

²⁷ Witzel (1997a) associates this period with the realm of the famous Rgvedic King Parikṣit (RVKh 5.10).

²⁸ I use the term ‘canonical’ to refer to the AV being accepted as part of the canon of ritual rather than as part of a larger canon of Vedic literature. There was no single canon or scripture in the Vedic period. There were a number of texts that were accepted as authoritative for each school only. A Taittirīya Brahmin would not accept the Jaiminīya grhyasūtra as the authority text according to which he should perform his domestic rituals. He would only accept the text of his own Taittirīya School, Baudhāyana grhyasūtra as authoritative. The efforts to make the AV seem canonical must be understood in the light of the AV Brahmin priests’ desire to be included in the śrauta ritual as well as their efforts to be *purohita-s*. See Chap. IIF below.

sorcery material, since many of the charms reflect a character shared by similar traditions of IE speaking peoples. The best example is the Germanic incantations based on the tenth-century Merseburg spells. B. Schlerath (1962), K. Zysk (1985), Jamison (1986), and most recently Watkins (1995) have discussed the close relationship between these incantations and the AV charms²⁹ dealing with how to mend broken bones. The second Old High German Merseburg (10th century) spell runs thus:

sose benrenki,
sose bluotrenki,
sose lidirenki.
ben zi bena
bluot zu bluoda,
lid zi geliden;
sose gelimida sin.

As bone-wrench,
so blood-wrench,
so joint-wrench.
bone to bone,
blood to blood,
Joint to joint;
So be they joined³⁰

Similarly in Chamber's fireside stories (1842, p. 37):

²⁹ See §§ 4.12, 5.5, PS 4.15.

³⁰ Watkins (1995: 523).

his foal's foot righted.
bone to bone,
sinew to sinew,
blood to blood,
flesh to flesh³¹

These two are unmistakably similar in style and language to AV. 4.12.3-4

sám te majjā majjñā bhavatu sám u te párusā páruh |
sám te māmsásya vírastaṃ sám ásthy ápi rohatu ||3||
majjā majjñā sám dhīyatām cármaṇā cárma rohatu |
ásrk te ásthi rohatu māmsám māmséna rohatu ||4||

Let your marrow be united with marrow and (let) your joint (be) united with joint.

Let your torn (piece) of flesh and (your) bone grow together. ||3||

Let the marrow be united with marrow. Let the skin grow with skin.

Let your blood grow with blood (and) let flesh grow with flesh. ||4||

The sets of charms may have originally been used in a healing rite for an injured horse, which prescribed the use of a healing plant. In both the Merseburg spell and the PS 4.15.2, the sinew (*snāvan*) is included in the list of parts to be rejoined.

Majjā majjñā sam dhīyatām asthnāsthy api rohatu |
Snāva te sam +dadhmas snāvnā carmaṇā carma rohatu ||2||

Let your marrow be put together with marrow. Even let your bone grow with bone.

We put together sinew with sinew. Let skin grow with skin.

³¹ Ibid., 16.

B Survey of Atharvaveda Literature

The survey that follows provides a quick reference to both the well known and lesser known Atharvan literature.

Samhitā

Of the nine known samhitā-s, only two have survived: the well known Śaunaka Samhitā (ŚS) and the older, more venerated Paippalāda Samhitā (PS). These two samhitā-s are discussed in detail in Chap. ID-E and Chap. II.

Brāhmaṇa

The surviving brāhmaṇa text of the Atharvaveda tradition is the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa (GB). This brāhmaṇa is divided into two parts: the pūrva brāhmaṇa and the uttara brāhmaṇa. The uttara brāhmaṇa generally follows the order of the Vaitāna Sūtra (see below). In general, the Vaitāna Sūtra figures as the samhitā of the GB, as can be seen from the fact that the mantra-s of the Vaitāna Sūtra are frequently cited in the uttara brāhmaṇa using *pratīka* references. On the other hand, the pūrva brāhmaṇa does not follow the order of the sacrifice according the Vaitāna Sūtra. The subject of the pūrva, especially in the last three sections, seems to be “a statement of the position and beliefs of the Atharvavedins in regard to general aspects of Vedic lore and sacrifice, with the special purpose of defining and glorifying the AV.”³² In other words, its aim is to extol the importance of the

³² Bloomfield (1899: 40).

AV by pointing out the possible negative consequences of carrying out holy rituals without the direct involvement of the Atharvavedin priest, the Brahman.

Even though only the GB has survived, there is evidence, especially in medieval commentaries, which points to the existence of another brāhmaṇa of the AV. The Prapañcahṛdaya, an encyclopedic text of ca. 11th century from South India, provides the following statement about the śākhā-s of Vedic schools:

tathātharvāṇike paippalādaśākhāyām mantro viṃśatikāṇḍaḥ | sa tu
dvividhaḥ, ṛgyajurmantrabhedena | tatra yajurmantrō bahuvidhaḥ |
ṛṇmantrabhedo dvādaśasahasraṃ trīśatādikam\ | tadbrāhmaṇam
adhyāyāṣṭakam\ | ³³

Thus, in the Paippalāda branch of the Atharvaveda, the mantra-s are 20 books | Indeed, that (is) the twofold-division with the split of mantra-s as ṛc-s and yaju-s | Therefore, mantra-s (are) variously divided as yajus | The division of mantra-s and ṛc-s (is) 12,300. | The brāhmaṇa of that (śākhā) has eight chapters.

In addition, AV Pariśiṣṭa 49.3.5 provides further information about the GB:

tatra gopathaḥ śataprapāṭhakaṃ brāhmaṇam āsīt | tasyāvaśiṣṭe dve
brāhmaṇe pūrvam uttaram ceti

There was a Gopatha Brāhmaṇa having 100 *prapāṭhaka-s*. Of that, two brāhmaṇa-s remain, namely the earlier (*pūrvā brāhmaṇa*) and the later (*uttara brāhmaṇa*).

This indicates that the original GB was much longer than what has survived.

Taking into consideration the statements above, along with the many borrowings

³³ Śāstri (1915: 21).

from older texts (MS, KS, KB, AB, and the later prominent ŚB)³⁴, M. Witzel (1985a) has suggested that GB is really an *anubrāhmaṇa*³⁵ of the PS.

Āraṇyaka

There is no surviving āraṇyaka text of AV. However, the author(s) of AV Pariśiṣṭa 49.4 knows an āraṇyaka text of 6000 lines which belongs to the AV.³⁶ In his commentary to Vedāntasūtra 3.3.25, Śaṅkara also remembers the beginning of a text of the Atharvaveda āraṇyaka-upaniṣad:

asty ātharvaṇikānām upaniṣadārambhe mantrasamānayaḥ sarvaṃ
pravidhya hṛdayaṃ pravidhyaṃ dhamaniḥ pravṛjya śīro 'bhipravṛjya tridhā
vipṛktaḥ

At the beginning of an upaniṣad of the Ātharvaṇika-s, the following mantra is recorded: 'having pierced him (the enemy) whole, having pierced his heart; having crushed his veins, having crushed his head; thrice crushed,' &c.

Śrautasūtra

The surviving śrauta text of the AV is the Vaitāna Sūtra. This text, which according to Bloomfield belongs to the Śaunaka School, is not the product of the ordinary śrauta practices. Rather, it is an intentional product created for the purpose of justifying the Atharvavedins' claim that the AV, which is in some

³⁴ See Bloomfield (1899: 102-106).

³⁵ An *anubrāhmaṇa* is an additional brāhmaṇa of a larger brāhmaṇa. The term *ānvākhyāna* 'additional story' is used in colophons of manuscripts of Vādhūla Brāhmaṇa, for example, which indicates that it is an *anubrāhmaṇa* of TB.

³⁶ AV Pariśiṣṭa 49.4: *etad grāmyāraṇyakāṇi ṣaṭ sahasrāṇi bhavanti.*

respects superior to the *trayī vidyā* 'threefold knowledge,' is part of the "canon."

The Prapañcahṛdaya notes:

paippalādiśākhāprayuktam ātharvaṇikam saptabhir adhyāyair agastyena
pradarśitam³⁷

The Atharvavedin attached to the Paippalāda branch is instructed by the Agastya (sūtra) having seven chapters.

Thus, there is evidence to support a lost śrautasūtra of the Paippalādins, the Agastya Sūtra of seven chapters.

Gṛhyasūtra

The gṛhya representative of the AV is the Kauśika Sūtra (KauśS). This text deals with typical gṛhya themes such as conception, marriage, death etc., but unlike other gṛhyasūtra-s, these are not the main topic. The KauśS is rather an account in sūtra form of the practical use of each hymn. The text presupposes the Śaunaka Saṃhitā, but also seems to quote and discuss material and practices originating from the Paippalāda Saṃhitā. Bloomfield categorizes the hymns of the ŚS according to their usage in ritual, as specified by the KauśS. The relationship between the PS and KauśS is in need of further study. Kashikar notes that KauśS forms the *saṃhitāviddhi* of four of the nine AV recensions (Śaunakīya, Akṣala, Jalada and Brahnavada).³⁸

The Paippalāda gṛhyasūtra, the Paṭhīnāsi Gṛhyasūtra, has thus far not

³⁷ Śāstri (1915: 33).

³⁸ Kashikar (1968: 99).

been found. On the basis of his research trip to Orissa in 1983, Witzel suspects that the Paithīnāsi GS is probably to be found in this area, since there are Paippalāda Brahmins who still claim it in their *saṃkalpa* statements.

Prātiśākhya

Prātiśākhya-s, along with śikṣā-s, deal with the phonetic aspect of specific Vedic texts and their recitation. For the AV, there are two surviving texts - the Atharva Prātiśākhya (APŚ), edited by Surya Kanta (1968), and the Śaunakīya Caturādhyāyikā (CA), edited by Whitney in 1862 and most recently re-edited by M.M. Deshpande (1997). These works provide crucial information as to the phonetic variations allowed within a given school. Deshpande points out that the CA does not belong exclusively to the Śaunakīya śākhā: “When it comes to details, CA openly admits that it deviates from the opinions of Śaunaka, and hence represents the Śaunakīya tradition as it had changed over a period of time.”³⁹

Pariśiṣṭa

Pariśiṣṭa-s can best be characterized, following Gonda, as collections of rules concerning the sacrificial utensils used in ritual which also contains other material which is in some manner or another connected with sacrificial ceremonies. According to von Negelein, however, the AV Pariśiṣṭa-s are of great value because they “actually constitute a detailed, valuable and informative survey from the atharvanic point of view of the various kinds of religious practices

³⁹ Deshpande (1997: 88).

in vogue in definite milieus in the late Vedic and early Hindu period.”⁴⁰

According to Witzel (1985a), the collection, which appears to have belonged to the Paippalādins, seems to go back to a single archetype from Gujarat. Some portions of the pariśiṣṭa text have also been found in Orissa.⁴¹

Upaniṣads

AV Pariśiṣṭa 49.5 lists 27 upaniṣad-s that belong to the Atharvaveda.

Deussen (1905) divided the AV Upaniṣad-s into five distinct categories: (1) Pure Vedānta upaniṣad-s; (2) Yoga upaniṣad-s; (3) Saṃnyāsa upaniṣad-s; (4) Śiva upaniṣad-s; and (5) Viṣṇu Upaniṣad-s. The better known AV upaniṣad-s are the Muṇḍaka, Praśna and Māṇḍūkya. The Nīlarudra Upaniṣad can now be traced back to its source of origin, namely PS 14.3-4. A study in the history and independent transmission of this short upaniṣad, originally part of the saṃhitā, promises to yield valuable information about the history of canon formation beyond the Veda.

Other texts

D.M. Bhattacharya (1968) notes the acquisition in Orissa of several unpublished Atharvan Upaniṣad-s as well as several kalpa texts of the Paippalāda School – Aṅgirasakalpa, Karmapañjika and Karmasamuccaya. The Aṅgirasakalpa and Karmapañjika contain rites of gr̥hya character necessitating only one ritual

⁴⁰ von Negelein (1908: 448).

⁴¹ See Bastiaansen (1986).

fire. In addition to these recent finds, the Atharvaprāyaścittāni edited by von Negelein in 1915 have received very little attention.

C *The Atharva Veda Tradition*

The Atharvaveda (AV), the fourth Veda, has been thought to represent the popular side of Vedic civilization. Compared to the *trayī vidyā* ‘threefold knowledge’, especially the RV, the AV contains material dealing with the healing of disease, and with destructive (black) magic and love magic, as well as materials dealing with life-cycle rituals and early state ritual⁴², together with speculative material. In the words of M. Bloomfield:

The life of the average Arya from the cradle to the funeral-pyre is depicted by the AV with greater freedom and completeness than in the house books...The variety of practices and beliefs connected with house and home, field and cattle, love and marriage, trade and village-politics is also far greater in the AV than in the house books.⁴³

In its two surviving saṃhitā-s, the Atharvaveda opens new vistas into many aspects of the study of Vedic texts, and in particular of the Atharvaveda tradition and Vedic ‘popular’ religion.

A comparison of the two saṃhitā-s, the Paippalāda (PS) and the Śaunaka (ŚS), immediately reveals several interesting features in the history and transmission of these texts. One such feature is the tendency of the PS to be more

⁴² This refers particular to the new material contained particularly in PS 10 and 14.

⁴³ Bloomfield (1899: 6).

archaic, at places even intentionally so, when compared to the ŚS and especially to the RV. This can be seen in the PS' preference "proper Rgvedic" forms such as *kṛnoti* and *-toḥ* infinitive vs. younger, more classical forms such as *karoti*, etc.

Why is the PS using these older forms when its sister saṃhitā does not? Are there reasons that explain these choices by the composer-redactors of the PS?⁴⁴

Localization of the Atharva Veda

The AV saṃhitā-s, which fall into the second level of Vedic literature, the Mantra Language, are texts of the Middle Vedic epoch. These texts were composed in the Kuru-Pañcala area,⁴⁵ between Eastern Panjab and Kausambi/Allahabad. The homeland of the AV can be ascertained from information contained in an important hymn of the AV, the Takman Hymn (PS 12.1-2 = ŚS 5.22).⁴⁶ By the time of their composition and redaction, the well-known tribes of the RV had been replaced by a few major tribes: the central Kuru-Pañcalas, the Kāśi and Aṅga in the east, the Magadha in the southeast, Gandhāri and Mahāvṛṣa in the northwest and the Balhika in the extreme northwest beyond the Hindukush mountains. The eastern fringes known to the PS is Kāśi, while in the ŚS it is Aṅga. From this disagreement, it is clear that the ŚS composer-redactors know an

⁴⁴ See Chap. IIE-F below.

⁴⁵ The geographical outlook of the PS places it slightly more to the west, in the Kuru area.

⁴⁶ See Witzel (1987a).

area much further east on the fringes of the Kosala-Videha territory in Upper Bengal, at the bend of the Gaṅgā. The northern border known to both saṃhitā-s of the AV continues to be the Himalayas, where the foreign (non-*arya*) Kirāṭa people live.

Thus, the AV reflects a shift in the geographic center of Vedic civilization at this time. There has been a move eastward from the Gandhāra/Panjab area to the eastern borders of the Panjab (Kurukṣetra) area and well into Madhyadeśa (modern Haryana and Uttar Pradesh).

Another piece of information that helps to localize the AV is the important mantra found in PS 19.1.5 and ŚS 6.98.3, which speaks of the ‘rivers flowing westward.’⁴⁷ The only place in North India where large rivers flow westward is E. Panjab – in the area between the Beas (Vipaś) and the Yamunā, the Himalaya and the Tharr dessert where the Beas, Sarsutī (Ghaghar), etc., flow westward. This was understood by Whitney, who noted in his commentary to the translation of ŚS 6.98.3: “This third pāda evidently describes the west; that does not suit the basin of Central India.”⁴⁸

With the help of archeological evidence, it is also possible to approximate the general time when the AV was composed. PS 16.53.12 = AV 13.3.7 and PS

⁴⁷ Cf. MS 4.12.1, KS 8.17, and TS 2.4.14.

⁴⁸ Whitney (1905: 353).

16.97.3 = AV 9.5.4 both mention iron as *śyāma ayas* 'black metal.' One of the earliest archeological attestations of iron is at Pirak, Period III, just before 1000 BC.⁴⁹ This information along with the evidence from archeological research, which indicates that iron was brought from Central India,⁵⁰ points to an *ad quem* date of ca. 12th century BC for portions of the AV.

D Śaunaka Saṃhitā

The Śaunaka Saṃhitā as available in Roth and Whitney's edition is the better known and studied of the two schools. The 1856 edition of the ŚS, one of the first Vedic texts to be edited as well as the updated edition by Lindenau (1924), however, still does not offer a complete picture of this tradition.

The AV, as presented in the Roth and Whitney edition, is a text of dubious śākhā affiliation. The reason for this is, first, that Roth and Whitney never had an extant manuscript of the Śaunaka Saṃhitā. In fact, no manuscripts with a colophon stating that it belongs to the Śaunakīya school have been found. Rather, Roth and Whitney were working with manuscripts that in their colophons did not indicate a śākhā affiliation, but only identified them as 'Atharvaveda'. This 'Atharvaveda' text was further obfuscated by Whitney's use of his Śaunakīyā

⁴⁹ Allchin (1995: 39).

⁵⁰ Ibid., 83.

Caturādhyāyikā (CA) in the process of compiling the edition.⁵¹ To quote Surya Kanta: “What RW (Roth and Whitney) have done in such cases is this, that, either they have ignored the CA authority, adopting the unanimous reading of the Vulgate manuscripts, or they have flouted the Vulgate manuscripts, and followed the former. That this procedure is unscientific needs no emphasis.”⁵²

The result was an edition of an ‘Atharvaveda’ text, which for lack of self-śākhā association has become known as the Vulgate. The edition conceals the true nature of the manuscript tradition by eliminating the tradition’s own peculiarities, or by superimposing the peculiarities of the Śaunaka tradition, as reflected in the CA, or by superimposing standard Vedic grammar.⁵³

The edition itself, one of the first of a Vedic text, is not very user friendly. Rather than listing all variants in the edition, the reader must laboriously collect variant readings from Whitney’s *Index Verborum* and from the critical notes to the translation of the AV. Then, even with these two sources, a complete listing is not

⁵¹ At the time of preparing the edition of the ŚS, Whitney was in possession of one manuscript of the CA from which he was able to extract a working text. He and Roth used this text as an aid in the preparation of the edition of the AV.

⁵² Suryakanta (1968: 32), parenthesis my own.

⁵³ Standard Vedic grammar refers to Roth and Whitney’s use of R̥gvedic grammar at the expense of any grammatical peculiarities that belong to the Śaunaka/Vulgate School. It also simultaneously refers to the wholesale standardization according to the grammatical principles of Pāṇini who lived ca. 500 years after the composition of the AV.

obtained. To achieve a more complete catalog of variants, it is necessary to consult Śaṅkar Pāṇḍuraṅ Paṇḍit's edition of the Vulgate and collect the additional variants he has provided; yet still a complete listing is not available. One would have to go to the original manuscripts or to Whitney's copybook, kept at the Yale University Library, to get an accurate idea of the variants that led to what has been edited.

A stemmatic analysis of the historical relationship of the manuscripts used in the edition of the Vulgate will not be possible until all manuscripts used by Roth and Whitney and Śaṅkar Pāṇḍuraṅ Pandit are re-collated. For the time being, M. Witzel⁵⁴ has done some preliminary studies exploring the relationship among the manuscripts. Based on the colophon (ca. 1431-1700) information, all available manuscripts of the AV, even those found in Nepal, can be traced back, to one to four families of Paṇcoli Brahmins of the Abhyantara-Nāgara group of Pāṭan, Saurāṣṭra.

E Contents of the AV in the ŚS

The material found in the 730 hymns of the ŚS is a largely untapped source for the material culture, customs and beliefs, and desires and sorrows of the Vedic people. Bloomfield (1899) grouped the material into ten categories following

⁵⁴ See Witzel (1985a: 264-65) and Deshpande (1997: 95).

their use according to the KauśS.⁵⁵ The class name and a brief description of the contents follow below.

Class I **Bhaiṣajyāni**: Charms to cure diseases and possession by demons. Under this group, we find hymns dealing with *takman* ‘fever’, *yakṣma* ‘consumption or tuberculosis’, *āsrāva* ‘bodily discharge of fluids’, and *apacit* ‘rash with pustules’.

Class II **Āyusyāni**: Prayers for long life and health. The common denominator of these hymns is the desire to secure life until the ideal old age (100 years). For this, Yama, Mṛtyu, Antaka, Nirṛti, and other deities associated with death are showered with politeness and obeisance.

Class III **Ābhicārikāni** and **Kṛtyāpratiharāṇāni**: Spells against demons, sorcerers, and enemies. The sorcery spells that fall under this category are more offensive in nature than defensive or retaliatory.

Class IV **Strīkarmāni**: Charms and spells pertaining to women. The material included in this category focuses on the most important events of a woman’s life: marriage, conception, and childbirth. Sorcery charms designed to eliminate co-wives or rivals are included under this class.

⁵⁵ In his introduction to the translation of the AV, Bloomfield (1897) originally divided the AV hymns into 10 categories. By the time of his 1899 monograph, he expanded the categories to 14. Categories 11-14 seem, in general, to be materials that stand on their own as complete individual units in ŚS; namely, class 12, the Rohita hymns, class 13, ŚS Book 20, and class 14, the Kuntapa hymns. Class 11, ritualistic and general hymns along with Rohita and Kuntapa material probably belongs under the category of class 6, Rājākarmāni.

Class V **Sāṃmanasyāni**: Charms to secure harmony in various situations. The common theme is harmony from the point of view of the person practicing the spell or charm. Topics include the stilling of wrath and discord, the establishment of harmony between contending persons or parties, and superiority in social and political life, etc.

Class VI **Rājākarmāṇi**: Hymns pertaining to royalty and royal rituals. These hymns deal with royal consecration, the development and enlargement of the king's empire and influence, and the defense of the king. These hymns aim to endow the king's *purohita* 'house priest' with the necessary magical powers to effectively function as the prime coadjutor of the king. In this context, it is important to keep in mind that it was the aim of the Atharvavedins, and the Paippalādins in particular, to become *purohita-s*. See Chap. IIF below.

Class VII **Charms and spells in the interest of Brahmins**: This class of hymns stresses the claims and interests of the AV Brahmins. These hymns point out the inviolability of Brahmins, who had given themselves the title *deva* 'god'.⁵⁶ The hymns also deal at length with the importance of *dakṣiṇā* or sacrificial fee given Brahmins.

Class VIII **Paṣṭikāṇi**: Charms to secure prosperity and freedom from danger. Hymns in this category have as their focus house and home, field and river, grain

⁵⁶ See ŚS 1.2.38, 3.3.36, and 6.13.1.

and rain, cattle and horses, trading and gambling, journeying and returning, serpents and vermin. Above all, these hymns give voice to the Vedic desire for wealth, progeny, and exemption and protection from calamity and danger.

Class IX *Prāyaścittāni*: The hymns of this category are used to correct irregularities and misfortunes both in the personal and ritual sphere.

Class X *Cosmogony and theosophical hymns*: These hymns focus on pre-philosophical or theological speculation about key concepts or forces of Vedic religion such as *skambha* ‘pillar’, *odana* ‘rice porridge’, *ucchiṣṭa* ‘ritual remnant’, the cow, and the *brāhmacārin* ‘veda-student’.

CHAPTER II

THE PAIPPALĀDA SCHOOL

A *Textual Sources*

The Paippalāda tradition is one of the nine śākhā-s or schools of the Atharvaveda. Several sources report on the existence of multiple AV śākhā-s. The Yajurveda Caraṇavyūha, the fifth Pariśiṣṭa of the White Yajur Veda, mentions the names of the AV śākhā-s:

atharvavedasya nava bhedā bhavanti nava śākhā bhavantīty arthaḥ | tñ
āha – paippalā, dāntā, pradāntā, dāntā, autā, jābālā, śaunakā,
brahmapalāśā, kunakhīvedadaśīm, cāraṇavidyāśceti⁵⁷

Of the Atharvaveda, there are nine different ones. That is, there are nine schools. | They call them: paippala, pradānta, dānta, auta, jābāla, śaunaka, brahmapalāśa, kunakhīvedadaśi and cāraṇavidya.

The AV Caraṇavyūha, AV Pariśiṣṭa 49.4.1, provides a complete list of the AV śākhā-s:

tatra brahmavedasya nava bhedā bhavanti | tad yathā | paippalādāḥ |
staudāḥ | maudāḥ | śaunakīyāḥ | jājalāḥ | jaladāḥ | brahmavadāḥ |
devadarśāḥ | cāraṇavaidyāś ceti |

Thus, there are nine divisions of the brahmaveda, as here follows:
paippalāda, stauda, mauda, śaunaka, jājala, jalada, brahmavada, devadarśa
and cāraṇavaidya.

Although these pariśiṣṭa-s do not agree as to the exact names of the different śākhā-s of the AV, they attest that multiple schools were known. Furthermore,

⁵⁷ Śastri (1938: 47).

some of the śākhā-s – Paippalāda, Śaunaka, and Cāraṇavidya – were known by the same name by both pariśiṣṭa-s.

We get independent confirmation of the existence of AV śākhā-s from a non-Vedic source, namely the Divyāvadāna, an early Buddhist text dated to ca.

265 AD.⁵⁸ The relevant texts read:

atharvaṇikānāṃ mate mantrāḥ sarve te 'tharvaṇikāḥ kratur eko bhūtvā
dvidhā bhinnam dvidhā bhūtvā caturdhā bhinnam caturdhā bhūtvā
aṣṭadhā bhinnam aṣṭadhā bhūtvā daśadhā bhinnā itīyaṃ
brāhmaṇātharvaṇikānāṃ śākhā kratur eko daśadhā bhinnāḥ

In the opinion of those versed in the Atharvaveda, all the mantras were thought as Atharvana. Being one plan/design, it was divided in two. Being two, it was divided into four. Being four, it was divided into eight. Being eight, it was divided into 10. The single plan/design, a branch of the atharvan Brahmins was divided into ten.

Although not a clear list, two important facts emerge. First, the author has knowledge that there is a division into śākhā of the Vedas. Secondly, although he has knowledge of the division of the AV schools, the information about these schools is not well known to the author; thus he is lead to make the statement about the 10 schools of the AV.

However, it is Patañjali (ca. 150 BC) in his Mahābhāṣya, who provides not only the earliest information about the śākhā-s of the AV, but also specific information about the Paippalāda School, which can be dated with some degree

⁵⁸ The information about the AV schools comes from a late manuscript from Nepal dated to 1873. The Divyāvadāna was translated into Chinese in the third century. Older manuscripts do not have this section.

of certainty. In Patañjali's testimony, the AV figures as one of the four Vedas rather than being referred to as "the Veda which is outside of the *traiyi vidyā*", as it is usually referred to in texts of the YV school. The relevant passage is MBh I

1.4:

vaidikāḥ khalv api | śam no devīr abhiṣṭaye | iṣe tvorjē tvā | agnīm īle puróhitam | agna áyāhi vītāya iti ||

Vedic words are indeed: śam no devīr abhiṣṭaye | iṣe tvorjē tvā | agnīm īle puróhitam | agna áyāhi vītāya iti ||

The important point to note is that the AV is placed at the head of the Veda, AV-YV-RV-SV, as opposed to the expected order, which should have been RV-SV-YV-AV or RV-YV-SV-AV, both with RV at the head of the list.⁵⁹ Most importantly, the text quoted as the opening line of the AV is the first verse of the Paippalāda Samhitā, *śam no devīr abhiṣṭaye* (PS 1.1.1 = ŚS 1.6.1) rather than the opening verse of the ŚS *yé triṣaptāḥ pariyanti víśvā rūpāṇī bíbhrātaḥ*. This shows that the AV as known by Patañjali was the PS rather than ŚS.

In MBh I 9.21, Patañjali speaks about the *śākhā* division within each Veda:

Catvāro vedāḥ sāṅgāḥ sarahasyā bahudhā vibhinnā ekaśatam
adhvaryuśākhāḥ sahasravartmā sāmaveda ekaviṃśatidhā bāhvṛcyam
navadhātharvaṇo vedo

The four Vedas, along with the supplements along with the secret doctrines are divided in many ways. The adhvaryu-schools are 100. The Sāmaveda has 1000 paths. The Bāhvṛca is twenty-one fold. The Atharvaveda is nine-fold.

⁵⁹ See p. 24 above.

It is clear from Patañjali's statement that by his time the AV was known to have nine schools. Therefore, Patañjali knew of at least two of the nine śākhā-s of the AV, Mauda, and Paippalāda, based on other evidence from the MBh.⁶⁰ The other schools must have been long forgotten by his time or were not known in his area. Although it is unlikely that the Mauda text is identical with the Śaunaka Saṃhitā, it is quite possible that it is our Atharvaveda Saṃhitā Vulgate as represented in the Roth and Whitney edition.⁶¹ What is clear is that it was the PS and not ŚS that was the better-known and more prestigious śākhā of the AV at the time of Patañjali.

B Epigraphic Evidence

The study of AV Brahmins in the vast corpus of inscriptions available has been largely ignored, except for the few inscription noted by D.M. Bhattacharya (1964, 1968). Witzel (1985a) has collected some information that provides a glimpse into the geographical spread of the Atharvavedins in history.⁶²

Table I below provides basic data regarding some of the most important epigraphic evidence collected by Witzel pointing to the existence of AV Brahmins

⁶⁰ See Patañjali on P 4.1.1, 4.1.86, 4.2.104, 4.3.101, 4.3.120, and 4.2.66 where Mauda and Paippalāda are mentioned.

⁶¹ The Śaunaka Saṃhitā is quoted only once in the discussion of P 4.2.66.

⁶² Witzel (1985a) provides a few examples of the epigraphic evidence. The majority of the material is contained in Witzel's unpublished notes, which I was

and the study of the AV in the medieval period. It is to be noted that evidence for AV Brahmins and for the study of the AV during the medieval period is not frequent, considering that some dharmasūtra texts⁶³ stress that the purohita should be an Atharvavedin.

able to examine.

⁶³ See GautamaDhS 11.15.17, YājñavalkyaDhS 1.312 and MānavaDhS 11.33. See Chap. IIF below.

Table I
Summary of some epigraphic data obtained by M. Witzel.

Date	Inscription	Information
Early 5 th cent.	Tiroḍi inscription of the Vākāṭaka King Pravarasena II	A donation in the Bālāghat District of Nagpur made to an Atharvaveda Brahmin.
End of 4 th /early 5 th cent.	Vāśim plates of King Vidhyaśakti II	Indicates that the study of the AV, and probably the PS, was found in the Central India (Nagpur) area.
Valabhī Saṃvat 207 = 526 AD	Kukkaḍa plate of the Maitraka King Dhruvasena I of Valabhī	The plate mentions “atharvaṇabrahmacārin-s” in the Saurāṣṭra area.
5 th cent.	Kaira plates of the Gujarati King Dadḍa II	Plate mentions AV Brahmins of the Paippalāda <i>caranā</i> ⁶⁴ in the village Sirisapadra, Akurua Viṣaya.
545 AD	Sangoli plates of the Kandabha King Harivarman	Mentions a comparatively large settlement of AV Brahmins in N. Kārṇātaka.
Valabhī Saṃvat 252 = 571 AD	Bhāḍva plate of Maitra King Dharasena II	Land grant to a Brahmin of the Kauśravasa <i>gotra</i> , an AV <i>gotra</i> of Anartapura.
8 th year of the reign of Bhaumakara ca. 795 AD	Neulpur grant of the Bhaumakara King Śubhākardeva	This is the only grant found so far which clearly indicates the presence of AV Brahmins in Orissa. The village mentioned is located north of the River Vaitaraṇī, near Jajpur.
ca. 1055-90	Belvā plates of Vighrahapala III	Mentions the Paippalādins in a list of grantees.
1151/52 AD	Sakhigopala inscription in the Puri District of Orissa	Mentions land given to 73 Brahmins belonging to 4 <i>caranās</i> .
12 th cent.	Madhainaga plates of king Lakṣamanasena	A grant from Bengal that shows that Paippalāda study was continuing under the protection of the Sena dynasty.

⁶⁴ It is to be noted that in Orissa *caranā* is used for one of the Vedas, as against *śākhā*, the recension of a particular Veda.

Based on his study of the epigraphic evidence of AV settlements and schools, Witzel has tentatively concluded that the Gujarat area was probably the homeland of the present Paippalāda Saṃhitā. From there, it was carried, as AV Brahmins moved across the continent, to the areas where it has survived, namely Kashmir and Orissa. The Bengal and Orissa Paippalādins probably emigrated from the Nagpur area in ca. 11th century. The Kashmir tradition was introduced probably at an earlier point in time when Early Nāgarī/Late Gupta script was still in use. This can be seen from the series of copying errors based on the script which point to an Early Nāgarī/Late Gupta written archetype. These conclusions are tentative as new epigraphic material may shed new light in the distribution of the settlement patterns of Veda schools.

C *Medieval History*

By far the most important medieval source of information about the Paippalāda Saṃhitā's history is Jonarāja's *Rājatarāṅginī*. In some manuscripts, the text includes a story that describes how the PS was imported, or rather re-imported, into the Kashmir Valley from Kaṇṇāṭaka by the teacher Yuddhabhaṭṭa during the reign of Zain-ul-Ābidīn (r. 1419/20-1470). The relevant text is 1267-1274 from Bombay MS (S₆):

tripañcāṅgamite varṣavṇde yāte kaleḥ kila |
 atharvakauśalād droṇo raṇaṃ kurubalair vyadhāt\ ||
 kurubhir nihate droṇe tad ātharvā nirāśrayaḥ |
 śaraṇīkṛtavān vedaḥ kaṇṇāṭān paṭucetanān\ ||
 śāstreṣv atharvavedasya mātmyam paripaśyatām\ |
 kāśmīrikāṇaṃ tatprāptyai ciraṃ āsīn manorathaḥ ||
 kāle 'tha vipule yāte sūhabhaṭṭabhayākulaḥ |
 yuddhabhaṭṭābhido mānī deśāntaram agād guṇī ||

yajuṣaḥ paṭhanāt prītaiḥ karṇāṭaiḥ so 'tha pāṭhitah |
 sarahasyam atharvāṇam nijāṃ pratyāgato bhuvam\ ||
 śrī jainollābhadenasya guṇino guṇarāgiṇaḥ |
 upadīkṛtya taṃ vedaṃ parāṃ tuṣṭim ajījanat\ ||
 dattasva kīyavastrāṇnaḥ Śīryabhaṭṭo 'tha dharmavit\ |
 tenaivātharvavedaṃ taṃ dvijaputrān apāṭhayat\ ||
 sā dharmiṣṭhā tu śālā 'sya śīryabhaṭṭasya dhīmataḥ |
 karṇāṭānām api param agamat sprhaṇīyatām\ ||

Indeed, when 35 years of the Kali (*yuga*) passed, because of his skill with the Atharvaveda, Droṇa diffused the battle with the forces of the Kurus ||

When Droṇa was struck down by the Kurus, then the Atharva (Veda) was without support. The Veda made the Karṇata-s its protector, who have sharp minds||

Seeing the greatness of the Atharvaveda among the sacred books, among the Kashmiris for a long time, there was a wish to obtain it ||

When a long time had passed, filled with fear of Sūhabhaṭṭa, (a man) named Yuddhabhaṭṭa, the wise and virtuous, went to another country ||

Then, it (the Atharvaveda) was recited by the Karṇatas-s who were delighted because of his (Yuddhabhaṭṭa) recitation of the Yajus. He returned the Atharvaveda together with the secret doctrine to his own country ||

Having offered this Veda first, as the best, to Śrī Zain-ul-Ābidīn who has good qualities and delights in good qualities, he delighted him highly||

Then Śīryabhaṭṭa, who has knowledge of dharma, having granted his own clothes and food, caused the Atharvaveda to be taught to the sons of the twice-born by that one (Yuddhabhaṭṭa) ||

The religious hall of the wise Śīryabhaṭṭa later became the envy of even the Karṇataka-s| |

Srikanth Kaul has identified this portion of text as an insertion. These lines were inserted in manuscripts D, B and S₆ after line 945.⁶⁵ Kaul notes that this passage is found on a separate leaf that has been inserted between verses 945 and

⁶⁵ Kaul (1967: 171).

946 in D, B, and S₆. To quote Kaul:

There are indications, which enable us to fix the year when the redactor fabricated the longer recession. The insertion 6* refers to the Tsak dynasty. Since Jonarāja died in 1459 (§55) and the tribe of the Tsaks captured the throne of Kashmir in 1561 AD, so he is not expected to report prophetically that the scions of the Laṅkāra Cakka (Tsak) will rule Kashmir. Further it will be mentioned in a later context (§34) that the longer recension of Jonarāja's work formed a part of the Rājatarāṅginī-manuscript which was presented to Akbar when he visited Kashmir for the first time in 1588 AD. These indications reasonably enable us to conclude that the longer recession was fabricated between the years 1561 and 1588 AD as there is no evidence to prove its existence before the occupation of Kashmir by Akbar. Therefore, it is evident that the longer recession was fabricated in 1588 AD for presenting it to Akbar, who had it translated into Persian.⁶⁶

The insertion seems to have been strategically placed within the narrative regarding the building activities of Zain-ul-‘Ābidī.⁶⁷ Along with other insertions found in the above-mentioned manuscripts, this story praises the glory of Zain-ul-‘Ābidī's reign. Other passages speak of his tolerance towards Hinduism as well as his efforts to import arts and crafts into Kashmir. The text particularly praises the efforts to re-introduce Brahmanic literature that was lost under the persecutions by Sūhabhaṭṭa during 1389-1419.

The interpolations were created and inserted in the manuscripts at the time when the historical works of Kashmir were translated into Persian for Akbar (b. 1542-1605) after his visit to Kashmir in 1588. Following the brutal oppression

⁶⁶ Ibid., 18.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 17.

under the Cak Dynasty, a return to a more tolerant Muslim regime under the Mughals, and Akbar in particular, must have surely stimulated memories of the ‘golden age’ under Zain-ul-‘Ābidīn. This must have led Brahmins translating these works into Persian to include accounts that portrayed Muslim rulers as more tolerant and friendly than the previous dynasty in order to gain favor from the new ruling dynasty. According to Kaul, the translator made this perfectly plain by “attributing the patronage of Vedic studies by Śīrya Bhaṭṭa to Zain-ul-‘Ābidīn (PT., MS. p. 64a), the interpreters aim at exerting influence upon the contemporary Mughal rulers.”⁶⁸

The historical context of the insertion is clarified by the historical facts mentioned at the end of the insertion:

B 1277	yasminn <u>ādama khān</u> -ākhye jyeṣṭhe putre ’pi bhūpatiḥ aprasanno vidagdhatāhīnaiḥ sambhāvitaś ciraṃ
B 1278	<u>hājya khān</u> -ādi putrebhyo viśoṣād vihitādarah vibhāsitaḥ sa rājñā ’pi tilako madhunā yathā ⁶⁹

According to Śrīvara, the author of the Jaina-Rājatarāṅgiṇī, Jonarāja died in saṃvat [45] 35 or 1459 AD. At this time, Zain-ul-‘Ābidīn was at the height of his glory. Jonarāja mentions the birth of his sons Adam Khan, Haji Khan, Jasrath Khan, and Bahram Khan. With this information, the context of the story can be dated to a possible *terminus ad quem* of 1459.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 21.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 174.

Based on the historical information provided by the Rājatarāṅgiṇī, the re-introduction of the PS must have taken place during Zain-ul-‘Ābidīn’s reign (1420-1489). Then the predecessor of the Tübingen birch-bark manuscript can be dated with fair certainty to the earliest days of Zain-ul-‘Ābidīn’s reign. This hypothesis fits nicely with the date calculated from the colophon of the Tübingen birch-bark manuscript: Friday, December 15, 1419, and the evidence gathered from the manuscript that shows traces of having been transcribed from a much older, Early Nāgarī original. See below Chap. IIID-H.

D Recent Information

After the above-discussed story of how the Paippalāda Saṃhitā was reintroduced into Kashmir, no information was available about the Paippalāda tradition in Kashmir until 1830’s. It is around this time that Baron von Hügel spent an extended period in Kashmir. It is in his *Travels in Kashmir and the Punjab* (1845) that we find a mention that in Kashmir, “the Rig Veda and Atterman Veda” are studied. Following that, the next news regarding the PS is the discovery of the birch bark manuscript at the Library of the King of Jammu and Kashmir in 1873 by Roth.

In this century, information about the PS tradition in Kashmir has been almost non-existent. M. Witzel has provided the most direct information available. During a research trips to Kashmir in 1973 and 1979, he learned from a Śrinagar informant who had undertaken several exploratory trips in Kashmir for D.M. Bhattacharya that no remnants of the Paippalāda tradition were to be found

in the area. The only exception was a partial copy of a PS manuscript in the informant's possession. From Gujarat, there is similarly scanty evidence to be noted. Bühler (1877) notes that Atharvavedins in Gujarat refer to themselves as Paippalādins even though they study the Śaunaka/Vulgate.⁷⁰

Our information about the Paippalāda tradition in Orissa has come from three main sources. First, J.N. Bhattacharya's *Hindu Castes and Sects* (1864), who speaks of the 'degraded Brahmins' of Orissa:

Besides the good Srotriyas and Mahajanpanthis there are in Orissa, as in every other part of the country, some classes of inferior Brahmans who are regarded as more or less degraded. One of these classes is called Atharva Vedi. There may be inter-marriage between the followers of Rik, Sham and Yajus, but not between these and the Atharva Vedis.⁷¹

The second source of information regarding the Paippalādins and their tradition comes from the published articles by D. M. Bhattacharya as well as from the introduction to his edition of PS 1-5. From these materials, it seems that Paippalādins are concentrated in villages in Northern Orissa as well as in some immediate areas across the border in neighboring Bihar and West Bengal and in some districts of Balasore and Puri.

The third source of information about the Paippalāda tradition in Orissa has come from field research by scholars working in this area. In 1983, M. Witzel

⁷⁰ See pp. 17-18 above.

⁷¹ J. N. Bhattacharya (1896: 50).

visited Orissa for the expressed purpose of searching for additional manuscripts of the PS. During his visit, he obtained additional manuscripts as well as recordings of the PS recitation. In addition, since early 1999, Arlo Griffith from Leiden has been doing field research in Orissa. He reports having found another complete manuscript of the PS from central Orissa.⁷² This discovery now provides evidence for the spread of the PS and its associated tradition throughout the whole of Orissa.

E The Paippalāda Saṃhitā: Arrangement and Content

The arrangement of the PS is best understood when compared to that of ŚS. However, it is important to keep in mind that since the whole of the PS has not yet been edited,⁷³ conclusions as to the exactness of the comparative arrangement of the two saṃhitā-s must be necessarily provisional in nature.⁷⁴

The PS and ŚS do not differ much in content, sharing much of the same sorcery, speculative and gr̥hya material. Of the material shared between the two saṃhitā-s, approximately 75% is identical. However, the PS contains much more

⁷² Personal communication with Michael Witzel, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, June 1999.

⁷³ PS 16, 17, 18, 19, and 20 remain unedited. I hope to be able to return to the PS in the future to continue working on the unedited portions of the text.

⁷⁴ For a detailed comparison see Zehnder (1999) who has provided a detailed comparative arrangement of the PS based for PS 1-15 on the recently published edition of D. Bhattacharya (1997). His comparative arrangement for PS 16-20,

material than ŚS. According to D. Bhattacharya (1997), the PS contains an estimated 923 hymns vs. Śaunaka's 730.

D. Bhattacharya has estimated this number based on Barret's count of stanzas and hymns in Kā, and his own counting of the verses and hymns in the Orissa manuscripts. Orissa has 923 hymns whereas Kā only contains 825. A majority of the missing hymns in Kā can be accounted for by the exclusion of a portion of PS 18 dealing with death, a subject considered too inauspicious by Kashmiris to include in their text. This is made even clearer by Kā's inclusion of ŚS 18.4.89 as the last stanza of PS 18. As noted by Barret, Kā's inclusion of ŚS 18.4.89 is "an acknowledgement that all of ŚS Book 18 is regarded as part of the Pāipp text."⁷⁵

ŚS 1-5 and PS 1-4 correspond to one another in content but not in the hymn arrangement throughout the kāṇḍa. General sorcery material found throughout ŚS is found for the most part in PS 5-15. The *ṭṛca* collections in ŚS 6 and 7 are found in PS 19. Śaunaka material dealing with specific major topics, such as ritual, speculative material, and cosmological and cosmogonic hymns collected in ŚS 8-12, is found for the most part in PS 16-17. The gr̥hya material including marriage and funeral hymns as well as *vr̥t̥ya* and the *rohita* hymns;

however, is still based only on the material available from PSK.

⁷⁵ Barret (1926: 572).

contained in ŚS 13-18 is found in PS 18. Figure I illustrates the relative arrangement of the two saṃhitā-s.

Paippalāda Samhitā

Śaunaka Samhitā

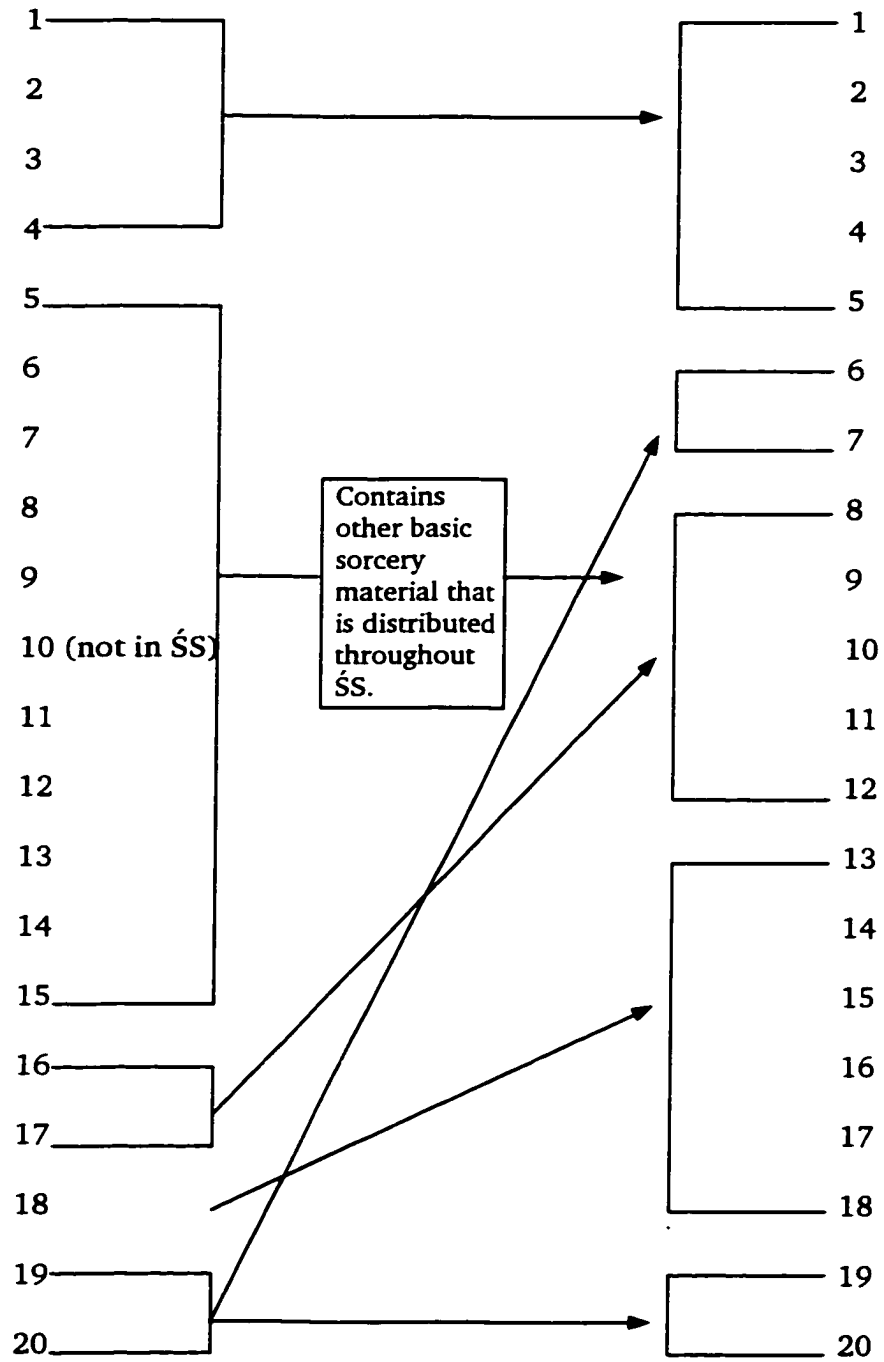


Figure I: The arrangement of PS books and how they are generally distributed in the ŚS.

What can be seen from this scheme is that both of our *saṃhitā*-s must have been formed from an Ur-collection that consisted of four large sections:

I	Sorcery material	PS 1-15	ŚS 1-7
II	Speculative material	PS 16-17	ŚS 8-12
III	<i>Gṛhya</i> and Royal Ritual	PS 18	ŚS 13-18
IV	Additional material	PS 19-20	ŚS 19-20

According to Witzel (1997a), the core of this collection, found in PS 1-4 and ŚS 1-5, contains the basic sorcery material of AV literature, to which speculative and the *gṛhya* materials were added. A comparison of similar *gṛhya*-type material, as well as speculative material found in RV 10, leads to the conclusion that the core of this collection must have been part of a Mantra-period collection of typically Atharvavedic material.

Through comparison of the two AV *saṃhitā*-s, other interesting facts emerge: the general agreement in terms of vocabulary and grammar of the PS with the RV, rather than the expected close parallelism with ŚS. This lends further support to the idea of a floating Mantra-period collection of typical AV material from which the AV hymns were taken.⁷⁶ In his studies on the development of the Vedic canon, Witzel (1997a), points out the key supportive evidence:

⁷⁶ See above Introduction B above.

If PS had taken over these hymns from ŚS, it would have conserved them in ŚS form and hardly have ‘corrected’ them according to the RV. However, wherever ŚS has genuine deviations from the RV, such as a change of words, new or variant phrasing, or insertion of complete *pādas* and stanzas, PS generally agrees with ŚS (and thus with the Ur-Av); here it does not follow the RV.⁷⁷

The AV’s inherent tendency to be “like, if not better” than the RV is reflected also in the arrangement within books in the PS when compared to the well-known arrangement of the RV. This is again especially visible in the core books of the PS, namely PS 1-15. The R̥gvedic arrangement in terms of the length of hymns is reversed in the PS. The redactors of the RV have arranged the hymns within each family book in descending order, beginning with the longer hymns within each deity collection. The PS takes the opposite approach, ordering original hymns within each collection in a generally ascending order and beginning each book with the shorter hymns. Thus, book 1 opens with hymns of 4 verses and each successive book, up to book 15, opens with hymns of $X + 4$ verses where X is the number of the book.

Beginning with book 11, the Orissa manuscripts of the PS divide the original hymns of $X + 4$ into a $10 + Y$ arrangement. Thus, an original hymn of 15 verses is divided into hymns, one of 10 verses and the other of 5 verses. This arrangement is maintained in books 11-15. Book 16 follows the pattern strictly. Book 17, however, follows the pattern with some breaks. PS 16 further breaks

⁷⁷ Witzel (1997a: 276-77).

the arrangement pattern by its very size, 3771 verses arranged in 155 hymns.

This huge block must certainly be an insertion.

That the PS, especially in the Orissa manuscripts, preserves the original arrangement as noted above is made clear by statements made at the end of each book. At the end of books 13 and 14, the manuscripts have the following statements:

- 13 Kā: ity atharvaṇikapaippalādāyās śākhāyām trayodaśas kāṇḍas
 samāptah
 Mā₁: ṣoḍaśarccakāṇḍah
 Ma₂: ṣoḍaśarccakāṇḍah
 Pa: iti paippalādasamhitāyām ṣoḍaśarccayornām- (13) trayodaśakāṇḍah
 Gu: iti ṣoḍaśarccakāṇḍah samāptah.
- 14 Kā: ity atharvaṇikapaippalādāyās śākhāyām caturdaśah kāṇḍas
 Mā₁: saptadaśarccakāṇḍah samāptah
 Ma₂: saptadaśarccakāṇḍah
 Pa: iti paippalādasamhitāyām saptadaśarccayornām 14rddha kāṇḍah
 samāpta
 Gu: iti saptadaśarccakāṇḍah samāpta

These statements, especially in the Orissa manuscripts, indicate that the hymns of books 13 and 14 are 16 and 17 stanzas in length, respectively. The arrangement in Kā is not systematic and in many books, we find hymns that belong in other books according to the original PS arrangement as preserved by the Orissa tradition.

The style and grammar of the PS collection also betrays the redactors' effort to mimic the ṚV. In their efforts to present themselves as uniquely qualified to serve as purohita-s, the composers-redactors of the PS favored the more antiquated language of the ṚV in their collection. This is reflected by the PS's usage of such forms as *kṛṇoti* and *kṛṇu* versus the ŚS usage of the younger *karoti*

and *kuru* forms, as well as other features such as the still relatively frequent use of the old, R̥gvedic Nom. pl. m. -ā as well as the Inst. sg. m. -ā. Even more obvious is the PS use of the ‘hypercorrect’ form *kṛ̥ṇva* against *kaṇva* in the ŚS and the RV.⁷⁸ This hypercorrect form, which has been correctly reconstructed by the PS composers-redactors, is found only in PS. In the older RV, one already finds the younger form, *kaṇva*. Thus, in this instance, the PS composer-redactors apparently want to be purposely more correct, more archaic than the RV.

F *The office of the Purohita and the Paippalāda Saṃhitā*

The grammar, style, and arrangement betray some of the well-thought out intentions of the composer-redactors of the Paippalāda Saṃhitā. In addition to typical atharvic material (sorcery mantra-s, speculative hymns, and gr̥hya material) Paippalāda composer-redactors included crucial new ritual material that ensured their prestigious status under the Kuru Hegemony. The collection of royal consecration material contained in book 10 aims to provide the king with a consecration or coronation ritual in the form of an archaic *sava*, an unction ritual inserted into the standard Soma ritual. The placement of this collection, which is not found in the ŚS, at the center of the PS collection highlights the Paippalādins’ efforts to provide a unique service for the king. In addition to access to sorcery material – typical atharvic material –, which could be directed against enemies,

⁷⁸ See Hoffmann (1940).

the Paippalādin's aim seems to have been to provide the king with new solemn, state ritual. This new Paippalāda ritual in turn would require that a Paippalādins become the king's *purohita*, or house priest.

The agenda of having Atharvavedin priests occupy the important office of purohita is present throughout Atharvaveda literature. KauśS 94.2-4 brings this point home:

tatra rājā bhūmipatir vidvāṃsaṃ brahmāṇam ichet |2|
eṣa ha vai vidvān yad bhr̥gvaṅgirovit\ |3|
ete ha vā asya sarvasya śamayitāraḥ pālayitāro yad bhr̥gvaṅgirasah |4|

Then, a king, who is the lord of the country, should seek a knowing
Brahman |2|
For indeed, he is knowing that has knowledge of the *bhr̥gu-s* and
aṅgirasas |3|
For indeed, those which are *bhr̥gu-s* and *aṅgirasas*, those are protectors,
the extinguishers of all of this |4|

Similarly, AV Pariśiṣṭa 4.6:

yasya rājño janapade atharvā śāntipāragah |
nivasaty api tad rāṣṭraṃ vardhate nirupadravam ||1||
yasya rājño janapade sa nāsti vividhair bhayaiḥ |
pīḍyate tasya tad rāṣṭraṃ pañke gaur iva majjati ||2||
tasmād rāja viśeṣeṇa atharvāṇaṃ jitendriyaṃ |
dānaśaṃmānasatkārair nityaṃ samabhipūjayate ||3||

In the country of which king an Atharvan (priest) who is a master of
pacifying-rites inhabits, that peaceful realm surely increases ||1||
In the country of which king there is not (an Atharvan priest), that realm of
his is oppressed with various fears like a cow sinks in the mud ||2||
Therefore, a king with excellence honors one among the Atharvan (priests)
who has conquered his senses with gifts, constantly, with respect
and hospitality ||3||

The protection and well being of the king is inextricably linked to the sorcery material that is the property of AV Brahmins.

However, the call for Atharvavedins to be purohita-s is not restricted to AV

texts. Texts of other Vedas recognize that the ability to handle the magical spells of the AV is crucial to the well being of the king and the kingdom. Aitareya Brāhmaṇa 8.24-28 follows this opinion. While not stating directly that a purohita should be an Atharvavedin, it makes it clear that a Brāhman should have knowledge of *brahmaṇaḥ parimāra*, the magical rites designed to kill hostile kings.⁷⁹

This recognition goes beyond Vedic texts proper. Later dharma texts lay down a rule that the purohita must be an Atharvavedin. Yājñavalkya Dharmasūtra I.312:

purohitam prakurvīta daivajñam uditoditam\ |
daṇḍanītyām ca kuśalam atharvāṅgirasas tathā | |

He should appoint a purohita who knows man's destiny, learned in the administration of justice, and conversant with atharvan and āṅgirasas.

Similarly, Mānava Dharmaśāstra 11.33 notes:

śrutīr atharvāṅgirasīḥ kuryād ity avicārayan\ |
vākśastraṃ vai brāhmaṇasya tena hanyād arīn dvijaḥ | |

He should use (as sorcery) the sacred knowledge of the atharvan and the āṅgirasas, without hesitation.

Indeed, speech is the weapon of the Brāhman. By means of that that the twice-born one should slay his enemies.

The insistence that an AV priest should be the purohita, already expressed in the some dharma-texts, is found most clearly in the AV Pariśiṣṭa 2.

⁷⁹ Bloomfield (1897: lxvii - lxviii).

- 2.2.2 atharvā srjate ghoram adbhutam śamayet tathā |
 atharvā rakṣate yajñam yajñasya patir aṅgirāḥ ||
- 2.2.4 brahmā śamayen nā 'dhvaryur na chandogo na bahvṛcaḥ |
 rakṣāṃṣi rakṣati brahmā brahmā tasmād atharvavit ||
- 2.3.5 samāhitāṅgapratyaṅgaṃ vidyācāraguṇānvitam |
 paippalādaṃ gurum kuryāc chrīrāṣṭrārogyavardhanam ||
- 2.4.1 tathā śaunakinaM vāpi vedamantravipaścitam |
 rāṣṭrasya vṛddhikartāraṃ dhanadhānyādhibhiḥ sadā ||
- 2.4.3 bahvṛco hanti vai rāṣṭram advaryur nāśayet sutān |
 chandogo dhananāśāya tasmād ātharvaṇo guruḥ ||
- 2.5.2 purodhā jalado yasya maudo vā syāt kadā cana |
 abdād daśabhyo māsebhyo rāṣṭrabhrāmśaṃ sa gacchati ||

The Atharvan (priest) sends forth terrible (events). Thus, he should pacify supernatural (events). The Atharvan (priest) protects the sacrifice. The Aṅgirasa (priest) is the lord of the sacrifice. A Brahman should pacify (those events) not a Yajurveda (priest), not a Sāmavedin (priest) and not a Ṛgvedin (priest). The Brahman protects (against) *rakṣasas*. Therefore, the Brahman is one who knows the Atharvaveda.

Endowed with virtue, conduct, and knowledge, entrusted with the limbs and minor limbs (of the Veda), he should make a Paippalādin (priest) as his guru, as one increasing prosperity, kingdom, and health.

In that manner, also he should make a Śaunakin (priest) versed in the mantras of the Veda (as his guru) as one who promotes the growth of the kingdom in gifts, grains, and water.

Indeed, a Ṛgvedin (priest) destroys the kingdom. A Yajurvedin (priest) would destroy sons. The Samavedin (priest) is for the destruction of gifts. Therefore, the guru (should be) an Atharvavedin (priest).

Invariably, (a king) whose (priest) would be in any way a Jalada or a Mauda goes slipping from his kingdom within 10-12 months.

This text not only attacks the possibility that priests of the other Veda-s could be purohita-s but goes on to attack even other AV śākhā-s. This pariśiṣṭa certainly reflects at least a competition among śākhā-s, and particularly those of the AV, between the Paippalādins and Śaunakins, for this coveted office. It is especially interesting that there is specific statement against the Mauda Brāhmans, who as

we know from Patañjali, are members of one of the oldest, better known schools.

The attack against other Veda-s is clear: the purohita must engage in basic Atharvic-type practices of magic, especially 'black' magic which must be practiced not as a defensive measure but in an offensive manner.⁸⁰ These practices are meant to protect the king and the prosperity of his kingdom against hostile neighbors and most importantly against internal enemies, namely family members – especially the cousin (*bhrātr̥vya*), the father's brother's son.

Another indication of the agenda of the Atharvavedins and that of Paippalādins in particular, may also be seen in the inclusion in both AV collections of the Rohita hymns, the hymns to the red sun/dawn. These hymns reflect the victorious aspect of the sun, which is indicated by the constant stress on the relationship of *varcas* 'luster' to *rāṣṭra* 'kingdom'.⁸¹ The king is clearly identified with this aspect of the sun.

To summarize: the most obvious difference between the two saṃhitā-s of the AV can be seen from an analysis of the grammar, style, arrangement, and content of the PS as compared with the ŚS. What emerges from this is that the ŚS contains approximately 75% of the material that is found in the PS. Furthermore, the reason for the omitted material in the ŚS is probably that this material was

⁸⁰ For example ŚS 3.19, the battle charm.

⁸¹ See Witzel (1984), Gonda (1984), and Tsuchiyama (1990).

exclusively collected and specifically arranged by the composers-redactors of the PS with the sole purpose of creating a place for their priest in the new power structure of the Kurus. With their new royal consecration texts and rituals, the Paippalādin priests assured a place for themselves within the new political structure and in the emerging sacrificial enterprise of the 'classical,' late Vedic period.

Chapter III

INTRODUCTION TO THE CRITICAL EDITION

A *Textual Criticism and Sanskrit Texts*

The methodology of historical textual criticism has been solidly established since the early part of the 19th century following the rediscovery of the classics of Greek and Latin literature in the 14th and 15th century. Paul Maas' *Textkritik*, translated into English in 1958 as *Textual Criticism*, clearly and concisely sets out the critical methods to be used "to produce a text as close as possible to the original (*constitutio textus*)."⁸² The application of this method to non-Greek and Latin texts of Europe and beyond was spearheaded by Karl Lachmann (1793-1851). Lachmann and others stressed the vast amount of evidence in these texts that pointed to multiple authors as well as internal contradictions, which in the case of the Old and New Testament, ran counter to the claims of the divine origin upheld by the Church.

Martin L. West has restated and expanded the discussion of the means by which to establish the text as close as possible to the text the author had in mind. West expands upon Maas' basic treatment of the methods of historical and textual criticism that calls for strict adherence to the principle of establishing the genealogical tree, the *stemma*, which shows the historical relationships of the

⁸² Maas (1958: 1).

manuscripts of the text to be edited.

West highlights the difficulties inherent in the process of establishing a *stemma* when the manuscript tradition has become contaminated, a problem of particular interest for scholars dealing with manuscripts from South Asia. The open recension situation is the most problematic as it does not permit the clear identification of the historical relationship among the surviving exemplars. In a situation in which many exemplars of the text in question exist, they show signs of contamination, and cross-contamination, it may be impossible to reduce the affinities found in those exemplars to a *stemma*. In such a situation, however, it is still possible to deduce a 'serviceable' stemmatic relationship that demonstrates the "lines of tradition that have remained more or less independent of each other throughout."⁸³ This serviceable stemmatic relationship does not tell about the historical relationship of the manuscripts or about the archetype. However, such a *stemma* allows the editor to proceed by distinguishing fundamental affinities among major manuscript lines, and thus determine the most independent manuscript line that should go back to the earliest stages of the tradition that can be reached.

In South Asia, manuscripts often go back to a single medieval archetype whose transmission has often been influenced by other traditions. If the original

⁸³ West (1973: 41).

oral tradition was small with a weak base, it becomes very difficult to reconstruct a non-contaminated text. In addition, South Asian scholars working with manuscripts must always take into consideration the possible effects of the oral tradition on the transmission of manuscripts. It is well known that both the oral and manuscript tradition continue side-by-side for a long time and, in some instances, up to the present.

West points out one of issues that is of particular importance for those working with South Asian texts, whether Sanskrit, Dravidian, or New Indo-Aryan texts: copying mistakes. The great majority of errors that are found in manuscripts can be attributed to copying mistakes. These can be further classified into two categories: semi-conscious and unconscious mistakes made by a scribe in the process of copying a manuscript. West points out, in the case of Greek and Latin texts, that these errors are not visual in character but rather phonetic or psychological in origin. "When one is writing (whether one is copying or not, but especially if one is), one tends to say the words over oneself. One may then find oneself writing down a word that sounds the same as the one intended."⁸⁴

The phonetic/psychological errors as well as the visual variety of copying mistakes are also an important source of error in the transmission of Vedic and Sanskrit texts. However, the visual aspect of copying mistakes is a particular

⁸⁴ Ibid., 20.

problem that is not often faced by Classicists in general that greatly influences the transmission of texts in South Asia. Classicists are in the lucky situation of dealing with a tradition that has relied on writing for a much longer period usually with a single script.

The case of Vedic, Sanskrit, and other texts from South Asia is quite different. Writing makes its appearance in India rather late when compared to other classical cultures. The first decipherable evidence of writing in the subcontinent is the inscriptions of Aśoka (c. 272-232 BC), dated to the 3rd century BC. To complicate matters, the climate in most areas of the subcontinent is not conducive to preserving manuscripts, Kashmir and Nepal being exceptions. Thus, our earliest Vedic manuscript is dated only to around 1000 AD.

This situation is further aggravated by the lack of a unified script in Ancient India. Brahmī, the earliest Indian script, gave rise to several scripts which themselves evolved into other scripts. This has led to the general tendency of geographically specific scripts. Thus, before the 13th century, when the Benares school came to prominence and Devanāgarī became the unofficial script used to write Sanskrit, Vedic and Sanskrit were written down in the local scripts. As time passed and scripts changed, copying mistakes multiplied as result of copying manuscripts from an older form of local script into a more modern form, or even worse, copying from another script into the local script. One does not have to go very far to imagine this scenario. Just think of students in an Introduction to

Sanskrit course struggling to make out *gh* vs. *dh*, *ṭ* vs. *ṭh*, *d* vs. *ḍh* in the re-print of Perry's Sanskrit Primer.⁸⁵ Now, just imagine copying from palm-leaf manuscript, or even paper manuscript, often not as neatly written as Perry's primer.

The types of mistakes discussed above fall into the semi-conscious category of mistakes that a scribe might make. The other source of errors is conscious in nature. These can be put into two sub categories: (1) conscious orthographic corrections, and (2) conscious 'scholarly' corrections. The first category is those mistakes made during the copying process by a more or less learned scribe who made "improvements" based on pronunciation and orthography. The second category involves conscious, scholarly corrections made by a scribe who, while copying, is also reading the text. While reading, the scribe is unable to make sense of the text in front of him and corrects or "purifies" the text based on several factors.⁸⁶ Among these factors, one must consider the other local textual traditions in the area. In the case of Kashmir, a medieval Brahmin is likely to have some knowledge of the Kaṭha texts (KS, KĀ, lost Kaṭh Br.), as well as the ṚV. In addition to the knowledge of other texts, a scribe may also be versed in the recitation of several texts and may very well correct the text according to the

⁸⁵ Perry (1885).

⁸⁶ See Deshpande (1997: 80-95).

‘words in his ears.’

B *The Study of the Atharvaveda*

The study of the Atharvaveda has been more or less stagnant ever since the publication of Roth and Whitney’s edition in 1856 and Whitney’s translation of the text, completed by Lanman in 1905 after Whitney’s death. Since then, only a few minor texts of the AV including the Kauśika Sūtra (Bloomfield, 1890), the Atharva Prātiśākhya (Surya Kanta, 1969), and Atharva Prāyaścittāni (Von Negelein 1915) have been edited and published. Relatively few studies have followed, an exception being Kenneth G. Zysk’s *Religious Medicine: The History and Evolution of Indian Medicine* (1985), which focuses on the AV as its main source.

If AV studies, generally consisting of the study of the Śaunaka text as presented in Roth and Whitney’s edition, have seen little advance, the study of the Paippalāda tradition has crawled along at an even slower pace. The excitement generated by the discovery of the Kashmir birch bark manuscript of the Paippalāda Saṃhitā gave rise to a short-lived burst of scholarly interest in AV studies. The first result was the publication of Bloomfield and Garbe’s facsimile edition of the birch bark manuscript in 1905. This was followed by the subsequent piecemeal publication, from 1921-1940, of an edition of the PS based exclusively on the Kashmir manuscript by L. C. Barret. Following the publication of edition of PS 20 by Barret, the interest in the AV studies once again faded.

The moribund field of AV studies came alive once again in the 1950’s when

D. M. Bhattacharya announced the discovery of several palm-leaf manuscripts of the PS in Orissa. His publication in 1962 of “Fundamental Themes of the Atharvaveda with special reference to its Paippalāda version” raised the level of interest in the field once again. In this series of lectures, Bhattacharya discussed the character of the Orissa manuscripts of the PS that he obtained and put forth his ideas regarding the history of this old Vedic school. For the first time, thanks to these manuscripts, one could make sense of the text of the Kashmir PS (PSK) text by using the Orissa manuscripts to correct the corrupt readings of the PSK. According to Bhattacharya, the Orissa PS (PSO) preserved, in many cases, the correct reading of the original PS text.

The publication of the edition of PS I in 1964, and of PS 2-4 in 1970, prepared posthumously by D. Bhattacharya, the son of the discoverer, finally provided a glimpse into this ancient text. The interest in PS studies, however, soon faded. Since the publication of 1970, few articles about the PS text or its tradition have appeared.

The study of the PS came to life once again in 1981 because of Dipak Bhattacharya's one-year research visit to Leiden. Bhattacharya's visit provided M. Witzel with the opportunity to study part of the palm leaf manuscripts from Orissa. This was the first time that someone outside the Bhattacharya family had the opportunity to closely examine the manuscripts in order to evaluate their paleographic details.

Witzel's studies led to a series of important articles on the nature of the transmission of the PS and the history of the Paippalāda Tradition. In these

publications, Witzel has pointed out critical information regarding how the transmission of the PS in Kashmir and Orissa has shaped the text into the form that exists in PSK and PSO. Witzel has begun the task of clarifying the rules governing the corruptions that appear in both branches of the PS tradition. These corruptions can be grouped into three main categories: (1) errors due to the influence of the pronunciation of the local language upon Vedic recitation, (2) writing errors due to the paleographic evolution, and (3) scribal errors, both learned and unlearned.

In the 1990's, the study of the Paippalāda continued to move steadily forward. Under the guidance of Michael Witzel, several scholars throughout the world continued to work on the text of the PS. Thomas Zehnder of Zürich has recently published a new critical edition of PS 2. A. Tsuchiyama, Hokkaido University, soon will complete an edition of PS 10, a book that provides new material on the coronation ritual of the PS. Maria Green, Harvard University, is currently working on the edition of PS 17, and Arlo Griffith, Leiden, has recently completed the edition and translation of the first 10 *ṛca-s* of PS book 19. In addition, after a long 15-year delay, D. Bhattacharya published in 1997 an edition of PS 1-15.

What are these avenues within the sub-field of AV Studies?

The single most crucial work to be pursued in AV Studies, in addition to a complete, critical edition of the PS is a new edition of Śaunaka/Vulgate. Both the edition by Roth and Whitney, one of the first editions of a Vedic text, as well as the updated edition by Lindenau (1924), continue to be unsatisfactory. As

discussed above, Roth and Whitney did not edit the ŚS proper but only an 'atharvaveda' text of unknown śākhā allegiance.⁸⁷ Scholars must go back, examine the manuscripts, and accurately describe their transmission in order to ascertain the śākhā allegiance of this text. Once the text of ŚS has been established using the text-critical method, the next task for Vedic scholarship is to pursue the philological study of the AV tradition.

C *On a new critical edition of PS*

Despite the groundbreaking work of D. M. Bhattacharya and his son Dipak, the currently available edition(s) of the PS still does not allow the text or its transmission and history to shine forth. The editions (1964, 1970, and 1997) have several problems, some of which were pointed by K. Hoffmann (1968, 1979). Aside from what could be considered minor problems of printing, the main problem with these editions is that they are generally impractical and unfriendly apparatus. Hoffmann (1968) points out that upon reading the text that he could not even figure out some readings of the printed edition because the lack of variants in the apparatus of D.M. Bhattacharya's two publications. These problems is somewhat alleviated in the 1997 edition by Dipak Bhattacharya. Nevertheless, even in this latest publication, Bhattacharya fails to carry out the most important task of the editor: to give clearly the manuscript readings as they

⁸⁷ See Chap. ID.

are. In other words, to provide the reader with full information on the variant readings of the manuscripts used for the edition. This means also that the RV, the ŚS, and any readings from other texts that have been taken into consideration in establishing the text must be included in the apparatus.

What emerges out of the 1997 edition is the tendency on the part of Bhattacharya to work only at the level of lower criticism. This is clear from the many underlined, uncertain readings in the edited text. Many of these readings could be easily explained applying the methodology that is the topic of this thesis. There is a lack of effort to try to figure out what the reading of the archetype might have possibly been.⁸⁸

Bhattacharya's task has been, as he tells in his Introduction, to produce an edition "as faithful as possible to the MSS."⁸⁹ However, even this task is not fully accomplished. The apparatus of the edition is hardly helpful in presenting the variant manuscript readings faithfully. For example, there is no indication of the variety of markings that Kā uses to indicate the end of verses or any indication of pāda marks which are clearly present in Mā₁. For that matter, Bhattacharya has not bothered to even figure out a better way to indicate ḥ and ḥ in his apparatus other than by adopting Barret's idiosyncratic method of using ṣ for both ḥ and ḥ.

⁸⁸ It is clear that Bhattacharya is not editing the text with any notion of what an archetype is in relation to the manuscripts that he is using.

⁸⁹ Bhattacharya (1997: xxx).

A new edition is necessary on methodological grounds. Put simply, D. Bhattacharya has failed to understand the transmission of the PS in its two representative branches, Kashmir (PSK) and Orissa (PSO). These two branches differ in culture, language, and geography. These factors have worked to make the two branches look quite different on the surface. If closely scrutinized, however, we can discover rules that allow us to make sense of what at first glance may look like two totally unrelated texts.

A large source of corruptions in the PS tradition is due to the influence of local language upon Vedic recitation. This source of errors has gone unnoticed by Barret, Raghuvara, Bhattacharya, and others working on Kashmiri manuscripts, both Vedic and Sanskrit, and has not been systematically treated until Witzel's recent work⁹⁰ nor systematically applied to the PS until the recent editions by Zehnder (1997) and Griffith (1999) as well as the present dissertation. If one listens to modern Vedic recitation while following a modern day (not so critical) edition, one will quickly pick up some rules that make the Kashmiri pronunciation of Vedic understandable. For instance v- is not be pronounced at the beginning of a word, thus we find Kā *rātum*. Or *vrataṃ*.

Although not as radically corrupting as the Kashmiri language influence on Vedic recitation, Oriya pronunciation has similarly influenced the transmission of

⁹⁰ See Witzel (1994).

the PS. Typical mistakes include the confusion of ś ~ ṣ ~ s, the lengthening of final i and u, and the introduction of glides, -a e- > -a ye-.

A great number of corruptions in both branches of transmission are due to copying errors. As has been shown by Witzel,⁹¹ all manuscripts of PSK go back to Kā, the birch bark manuscript of 1419 which itself must go back through an intermediate, *K, in Śāradā, to an original, *D, written in Western Nāgarī-type script, ca. 1200 AD. This is supported by the absence of typical well-known Devanāgarī copying mistakes such as p/y, b/v, c/v, etc. On the other hand, the majority of copying mistakes found in Kā are typical mistakes made when copying from a Śāradā original or from Early Nāgarī to Śāradā.

The PSO tradition, on the other hand, seems to have been a long written tradition that can be seen from a number of miswritings and *lacunae* found in the text. However, it must be pointed out that there is much still to be learned about the transmission of the PS in Orissa. In order to understand the transmission of the PS as well as other Vedic texts in Orissa, the study of the development of the Oriya script must be seriously undertaken by Indologists.⁹² Thus, an unintelligible passage common to both PSK and PSO must go back to an error during the

⁹¹See Witzel (1973, 1976).

⁹² For the purposes of this dissertation, I have relied on Tripathi (1963) and tables prepared by M. Witzel for his study of the Oriya manuscripts. Much research is still has done in terms of the historical development of the script. The development of Oriya from Eastern Nāgarī/proto-Bengali needs further study.

copying process, and must be taken as the true reading of the authentic PS.⁹³

In his recent edition of PS, D. Bhattacharya (1997) defends and expands the theory laid down by his father, D. M. Bhattacharya (1964), that the Paippalāda tradition of Kashmir as reflected in PSK originated from Kaṇṇaṭaka. D.M. Bhattacharya based his argument on the passage from Jonarāja's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* that tells how Yuddhabhaṭṭa, a Kashmiri Brahmin, went to Kaṇṇaṭaka and after having learned the PS there, returned to Kashmir where he taught it to others.⁹⁴

In his 1997 edition, C. Bhattacharya continues to uphold this theory and to further complicate the picture of the supposed southern origin of the PS. Arguing against the approach proposed by Witzel (1973, 1976) – that of an archetype from which both branches of the tradition derive –, D. Bhattacharya suggests that such hypothesis can be opposed simply based on the fact that the same level of corruption is not observed in other textual traditions in Kashmir – namely the ṚV and the Kaṭha traditions. However, as Bhattacharya himself has pointed out, the stability of these two well-established traditions in Kashmir is due to the larger base of the traditions when compared to the relatively late (in Bhattacharya's view) Paippalāda tradition. Rather than taking the internal evidence provided by

⁹³See Hoffmann (1968).

⁹⁴ See Chap. IIC above.

the text along with external evidence – on which he places far greater emphasis –, D. Bhattacharya goes on to complicate his theory by proposing “the possible existence of a non-AVP Atharvavedic tradition in Kashmir.”⁹⁵

In his introduction, D. Bhattacharya cites data from Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, and Patañjali to show that a northwestern, non-Kashmirian AVP tradition existed in the second half of the first millennium BC. He concludes: “the evidence speaks for a northwestern Atharvavedic tradition in the centuries preceding the Common Era, but not for a Kashmirian one in that age.”⁹⁶ After citing data from grammatical texts, this time from Kāśika and Mahābhāṣya, Bhattacharya finally states the crux of his argument against the value of internal evidence:

Though one cannot be more definite, the above two variations in the Kāśika and the Mahābhāṣya indicate the possibility of the existence of an AV text closely similar to the AVP as known to us in Kashmir till the seventh century.⁹⁷

D. Bhattacharya’s scheme attempts to save the southern, Karnaṭaka origin of the PS by suggesting that a case for a PS having its source in Kashmir has not

⁹⁵ Bhattacharya (1997: xl).

⁹⁶ Ibid., xli.

⁹⁷ Ibid., xlii. Bhattacharya bases his conclusions on the Kāśikā’s citation of exclusive AVP text, PS 6.6.8.d and on the fact that Kayyāṭa (who is from Kashmir), in his commentary on the Mahābhāṣya, suggests that Patañjali intended to read *mās* instead of *mād* when commenting on P 7.4.48 *mādbhir iṣṭava indro vṛtrahā*. He finds further support in P 4.1.32 which allows the Vedic forms *antarvatnī* (quoted from PS 14.2.7) and *pativatnī* in opposition to Kāśikā and Mahābhāṣya’s *pativatī* and *pativatnī*, respectively.

been established. He further suggests that the “AV text similar to the AVP as known to us in Kashmir” is the Mauda Saṃhitā. However, Bhattacharya, arguing against Witzel, has missed the point of Witzel’s contention: that PSK and PSO go back to an original archetype that is neither of a southern nor Kashmirian origin.

D. Bhattacharya has simply ignored the simplest solution if he wants to uphold his theory: to show typical influences of Kannada pronunciation on the text.⁹⁸ He could easily do this by citing examples of expected corruptions which would be produced in the transcription of a text written in Nandināgarī (the Nāgarī of Karnaṭaka) into Śāradā or such typical Karnaṭaka development as p > h.⁹⁹ One would also expect an increased frequency of glide insertions as is typical for Kannada – which is not the case in PSK!

Bhattacharya has incorporated few of the advances regarding the transmission of Vedic texts into his recent publication. He is somewhat aware of the effects of local pronunciation on the recitation of Vedic and Sanskrit.

However, his awareness is limited, as he notes only a few of the, and does not

⁹⁸ This is, of course, the very use of internal evidence upon which he argues against Witzel.

⁹⁹ This development has been well known since the 10th century and was fully entrenched by the 14th century. If Bhattacharya’s theory of a common southern source were correct, one would expect this peculiarity to be present in the Orissa manuscripts (since AV Brahmins are only attested in Orissa and Bengal in the second half of the 11th century), and in PSK (since Yuddhabhaṭṭa supposed brought the PS to Kashmir in the 14th century).

incorporate the hundreds of such phonetic rules noted by Witzel (1994).

However, he has yet to incorporate into his understanding of the transmission the errors due to copying mistakes. This comes out clearly in some of the examples he discusses in the introduction to his edition.

In discussing PS 6.1.6a, PSO *snuṣejyam*, PSK *snuṣeyyam*, RV *stuṣéyyam* and ŚS *stuśvá*, he concludes that *snu-* is due to a confusion of t ~ n. However, Bhattacharya does not specify how or at what point in the transmission of the text, the error arose. He simply infers an ancient graphical error. This is correct when we examine the earliest examples of Nāgarā script, but it is only possible at a point when the text was being transmitted using Śāradā.¹⁰⁰ Śāradā t and n are not easily confused. The same holds in the case of Oriya script.

Additionally, Bhattacharya cites that the existing oral tradition in Orissa has *srucejyam*. He concludes that the error must go back to an ancient graphical error in “historical times.” However, this avoids answering the question of the place and time of the transmission of the text.

What Bhattacharya ignores in his own example is what this graphical error tells about the oral tradition reading. The confusion of sn ~ st ~ sr are all extremely likely based on the paleography of these scripts. Furthermore, this example shows the secondary character of the oral recitation in Orissa: this

¹⁰⁰ D. Bhattacharya is certainly only thinking at a transmission at this level, given his strong support of his father’s Yuddhabhaṭṭa hypothesis.

recitation was re-learned from a manuscript that must have already had a similar graphical error. Interestingly, in his edition, Bhattacharya edits *snusejyam* against the RV, ŚS *stuṣeyya* and the oral tradition.

Bhattacharya also argues against the explanation of the confusion of $c \sim t$ in Kashmir arising from the pronunciation of c as $[t^s]$ because it occurs in both branches of PS.¹⁰¹ He notes the development of t out of original c -/s- in Dravidian as something to keep in mind. However, even this faint link to the southern-origin hypothesis is unnecessary. An explanation on the grounds of pronunciation for PSK co-exists alongside a simple paleographic explanation: it is not impossible for $c \sim t$ to be confused in Oriya, especially in early Eastern Nāgarī and Proto-Bengali.¹⁰²

Bhattacharya's lack of understanding of the paleographic developments of Śāradā and Oriya are again visible when he discusses the variants of PS 12.19.2, PSO *śraddhemam*, and PSK *bhraddhemañ*.¹⁰³ He explains the paleographic confusion through a series of substitutions based on Śāradā script: **śraddhemam* > **traddhemam* > *bhaddremam*. This explanation is convoluted, unnecessary, and it clearly shows Bhattacharya's lack of understanding regarding the transmission of the PS. The explanation in this instance is quite simple, once one

¹⁰¹ Ibid., xlviii.

¹⁰² See Tripathi (1963).

¹⁰³ Bhattacharya (1997: xlviii).

has concluded that both branches of PS must go back to a single archetype. Again an examination of the paleographic evidence shows that Early Nāgarī bhra ~ śra can be easily confused, especially by someone who is transcribing into Śāradā.

A complete critical edition of the PS is needed which will have taken into consideration these important factors. The sections that follow set forth the methodological ground on which the text of the authentic PS has been established. The discussion will focus especially on the influence of Kashmiri and Oriya on the recitation of Vedic and on the problems that arise out of the writing mistakes, which are due to long-term paleographical developments in both of these regions. The intention of this section is to show by examples how to deal with these problems and how they are crucial to the study of any Vedic and Sanskrit text.

F Transmission of the PS: Kashmir branch, PSK

The Kashmir branch of the Paippalāda tradition is represented by Kā, the birch-bark manuscript of the Paippalāda Saṃhitā at the Tübingen University Library. This manuscript was discovered in the library of the Rāja of Kashmir and Jammu at the urging of Roth in 1873. All other exemplars of the PS from Kashmir, either in Śāradā or Devanāgarī, are copies of the Tübingen manuscript.¹⁰⁴ Among these, the copy made for Roth in 1873, R, is the most

¹⁰⁴ See M. Witzel (1973, 1976).

valuable because it preserves portions of the text that were destroyed or lost during the process of transcription and during the manuscript's voyage to Europe. Specifically, R contains the only available text of folio 1, which was lost during the trip to Europe and is not even preserved in the Bloomfield-Garbe facsimile.

Influence of Local Pronunciation.

A large percentage of the innumerable corrupt passages of Kā can be observed to have arisen from the influence of Kashmiri pronunciation on Vedic recitation. Barret, Raghu Vira, D.M. Bhattacharya, and, most recently, D. Bhattacharya have ignored this fact, mentioned by Bühler in his report of 1877.

During his trip to Kashmir in 1875, Bühler noticed many mistakes in Sanskrit pronunciation, which were due to the influence of Kashmiri language. The effect on Vedic recitation was so devastating, that Bühler noted his difficulty in understand the “recitation of the Kāvyas” without a text to follow. He noted his impression of the changes that Sanskrit sounds go through in Kashmir:¹⁰⁵

a	[a, ö, ǝ]	ṛ	[rě, rü]
-a-	[ɜ:]	e	[i, ī, ěĩ]
-i-	[ě, yě]	o + nas./liqu.	[ō, ũ]
i-	[e, ye]	kṣa	[khye]
-i	[ü]	ṣa	[śa, sometimes sa]
-ī	[ü]	ḥ	[very soft, almost inaudible]
u-	[vǝ]	asp. consonants > unasp. consonants	
-u-	[ǝũ]		
ū-	[vũ]		

¹⁰⁵ Bühler (1877: 25-26).

Witzel (1994) has described the modern and medieval pronunciation of Sanskrit in Kashmir in detail. By comparing the modern recitation of Vedic and Sanskrit text to the printed editions, Witzel has produced a fairly complete set the modern Kashmiri pronunciation of Sanskrit. In addition, variants of quick (*allegro*) recitation have been included.

A comparison of recordings of modern Vedic recitation and of modern Sanskrit recitation reveals uncertainties on the part of modern Kashmiri reciters, in some cases, as to what sound is to be recited. Most typical is the uncertainty of reciters as to whether dental or palatal affricates is to be chosen in the case of Sanskrit palatals (c, ch, j, jh, ñ).¹⁰⁶ A similar insecurity on the part of reciters occurs also in the case between retroflexes and dentals. In the PSK, we can identify examples of the following confusions: c ~ t ~ ts, j ~ d ~ (z) ~ (dz).¹⁰⁷

The recitation of the Kaṭha Saṃkalana, a text that has been partially preserved in Kashmir, shows the pervasive influence of local pronunciation on Vedic recitation.

[yiṣē tōrzē tā...; atha kuśmāṇḍe zōyāt yo ṣpōtyau manyēta....] =

iṣe tvorje tvā...; atha kūṣmāṇḍair juhuyād yo 'puta iva manyeta....

¹⁰⁶ This uncertainty, however, has very little effect in writing. For the most part, the most visible one in the PS is the uncertainty about representing c by c, ts, t, and s.

¹⁰⁷ See Witzel (1994).

Once the rules of pronunciation are applied, the Sanskrit text becomes understandable and identifiable.

Errors based on paleographic peculiarities

In the case of the well-known birch bark manuscript of the PS from Kashmir, the great majority of errors can be attributed to copying mistakes due to historical development of the scripts used in the area. The transmission of the PS as reflected in Kā has gone through two broad steps.

Going back in time, our manuscript Kā, in modern Śāradā, was copied from a manuscript *K in an older Śāradā script, ca. 1419. Copying mistakes produced at this stage are due mainly to the confusion of Śāradā letters and ligatures. For example, the two most commonly confused Śāradā characters are m and s. The difference in these two characters is simply the lower left knob or wedge. Moving farther back in time, *K was copied from *D, a manuscript in Early-Western Nāgarī script, proposed by M. Witzel to be dated ca. 1350.¹⁰⁸

Śāradā > Śāradā

These types of copying mistakes are the simplest to illustrate. A glance at the Table II will quickly produce a series of obvious similarities:

ma ~ sa
ba ~ ra
ca ~ da ~ śa
u ~ t

¹⁰⁸ See Witzel (1985a).

In terms of ligatures, the list grows even further. For example:

ku ~ kta
cya ~ dya ~ mya ~ śya ~ sya
tu ~ tta ~ nta ~ rta
ba ~ rdha ~ rva ~ va

M. Witzel (1984) has provided a list of such mistakes based on his experience gained while working with Kashmiri manuscripts. Walter Slaje has prepared another list¹⁰⁹

Early Nāgarī > Śāradā

The difficulty of identifying copying error at this level is the lack of paleographic studies of Nāgarī script. In order to complete the present study, I have made use of existing general paleographic studies by Bühler, (1896), Singh (1991), Deambi (1982), and Slaje.

Although few paleographic study of the transition from late Gupta script/Siddhamātrkā (6th - 8th c) to Early Nāgarī (11th-13th c) script exists, the closest representative of this script is the *licchavi* script of Nepal.¹¹⁰ This script is quite conservative and preserves the majority of the features illustrated by the Late Gupta/Siddhamātrkā script of 6th-8th centuries as illustrated by the manuscripts and inscriptions used by Bühler. As a general reference, I have used the *Licchavi Lipi Samgraha*. Along with the tables from Bühler's *Paleography*,

¹⁰⁹ W. Slaje. Śāradā: Deskriptiv-synchrone Schriftkunde zur Bearbeitung kaschmirischer Sanskrit-Manuskripte. Unpublished.

¹¹⁰ Dates according to Singh (1991).

which provides the shapes of letters from epigraphic material, the Nepalese script of c. 450-700, provides the best approximation of the Late Gupta/Early Nāgarī script of c. 1000 AD. The following examples can only be explained as Early

Nāgarī > Śāradā copying mistakes:

9.11.13	prāṇeṣu	> K: prāṇopu
9.4.7	rakṣayādvai	> K: °randha°
13.1.7	balhikeṣu	> K: bahlikemukhu
15.10.8	viśvahā	> K: viśvapha

Table II
Modern Śāradā Script.

a	अ	ā	आ	i	इ	ī	ई	u	उ
ū	ऊ	r	र	r̄	ट	l	ल	ī	ह
e	ए	ai	ऐ	o	ओ	au	औ	om	ॐ
ka	क	kha	ख	ga	ग	gha	घ	na	ङ
ca	च	cha	छ	ja	ज	jha	झ	ña	ञ
ṭa	ट	ṭha	ठ	ḍa	ड	ḍha	ढ	ṇa	ण
ta	त	tha	थ	da	द	dha	ध	na	न
pa	प	pha	फ	ba	ब	bha	भ	m a	म
ya	य	ra	र	la	ल	va	व		
śa	श	ṣa	ष	sa	स	ha	ह		

G *The Transmission of the PS: Orissa Branch, PSO*

The Orissa branch of the PS is represented by the various sets of manuscript discovered in this century by D.M. Bhattacharya (Mā, Ma, Jā, Vā) and by M. Witzel (Pa, Gu). The manuscripts discovered by D.M. Bhattacharya have never been studied in detail by anyone outside of his family until the present dissertation. The only exception was when D. Bhattacharya, the discoverer's son, spent a year as a research fellow at Leiden. At that time, M. Witzel was able to study at these manuscripts for the first time, and photocopy portions of them. The manuscripts discovered by or on behalf of M. Witzel have also never been used in any edition of the PS until the present work.

Influence of Local Pronunciation

The influence of Oriya language is immediately visible upon a close inspection of the Orissa manuscripts of the PS. However, unlike with the study of the PSK, nothing equal to Bühler's early work on Kashmiri pronunciation of Sanskrit exists for the Orissa area. The only work in this little studied area so far has been that by M. Witzel's his article "Die mündliche Tradition der Paippalādins von Orissa" published in 1985. Although the influence of the Oriya language upon Sanskrit does not lead to the incomprehensible result as Kashmiri, the results of such influence can still be detected.

The most prominent errors are those due to the typical confusion of the sibilants (ś, ṣ, and s) that is found among the Eastern group of New Indo-Aryan (NIA) languages, generally realized as [s] in Orissa. This confusion leads to numerous mistakes, so much so that one is likely to come across *ṣiva* or *siva*, as

well as the correct *śiva*. Another peculiarity due to the influence is the pronunciation of ya as [ja]. This is found in several places in the manuscripts. In addition, the shortening of long vowels [ī, ū], another feature of the Eastern group of NIA languages, and the particular tendency in Orissa (as in Nepal) to write final -i or -u as long regardless whether it was originally long,¹¹¹ has lead to numerous misspellings in the Orissa manuscripts.

Since the phonetic influence of Oriya upon Sanskrit is not as extensive as in the Kashmiri case, Table III below presents the list of rules produced by M. Witzel.

¹¹¹ This feature is also observed in the surviving manuscripts of the Avestan corpus.

Table III
Oriya pronunciation of Sanskrit (Reproduced from Witzel (1985b)).

/a/	[ɔ/a; ɔ, ɔ̃, ɛ̃, ɛ, u, ə, ø; L:ä ; A: ē (!)]	-k c-	[gɔt, kt]
-a	a/ā: äŋ, am, āha L: aŋa, âhâ, âŋan. âŋaŋ, âmŋa, âmŋa ŋ	kṣ	khy; kš, kh ¹
i	i L: I	kṣa	khe ¹
ī	i; ī	jy	j
-i	L: iŋə	jñ	gny, gy
u	u; ɔ, ə, L: ū, ɔ̃ A: a ¹ , i ¹	ñc	nc, nc; : L mc
-u	L: uŋ	m̐cch	mch ¹
ū	u; ū	n̐va	nuwa ¹
r	ru; ri, rə	trai	tai ¹
e	e; ɛ̃	tva	kša ¹ , tya
e-	ē; yē	ts	cch
o	o, ɔ̃; a, ū; A: u	dgrā	nyā ¹
ai	ɔi, ei	dvi	düi, dui; L: di
au	ɔu	dbh	dam ¹
c	c; j ¹	ny	ny, ny; na ¹
cch	ch; ts	nv	nv, nb; nab, nam, naw ; nvah ¹
j	j; z ¹	rC	C; hC ¹
ñ	n	rn	nn ¹
-d-	-l-	rt	rat
-t	L: tə ¹	r	rb, rab, rav
b	b; m ¹	rṣna	šta ¹
bh	bh; v ¹	-v i-	umi
-m	m, ŋ, ø; ŋə, ŋma	m̐v	mb
y	j	Cv	Cv, Cw, Cb
-l-	-l-	śa	sa, ši
v	b, v; w; L: m ¹	śā	śā; śā
-r-	ø ¹	śc	sc, śc; hc ¹
ś	s; š, ś	śy	sy, šy; ś

ś	s; ś	śru	suru
s	s; ś ¹ , ś ¹	śva	śa ¹
-h-	h, ø	-ṣṭh-	sth, ṣṭh, ṣth
-aḥ	-aḥ; -āḥ, aṇ, aø, A: ā, a ø	-ṣṭ-	st, ṣṭ; ṣt
-uḥ	-ūhu ¹	-st-	øt
-ḥ s-	-ḥ s-; n s ¹	sy	sy, ś
-ḥ p	-ḥ p-; L: ø p, naḥ/waḥ p-	-sv i-	sumi
-			
-ṣ p-	-ḥ p-; waḥ p-	-hm-	mḥ
-a a-	ā	-m̐ y-	ṇj; nj
-ā ā-	ā	-m̐ v-	mb; nv, ø v
-sr i	su-m-i ¹	-Iṁ ll-	ill
		-m̐ s-	ṇs, øs
		-m̐s-	ns
		-āṁ a-	āgwō, āγwōṇ
		-a e-	-aye-

L: Indicates the recitation of a reciter who had the tendency to elongate sounds.

¹: Indicates a single instance.

A few examples from our text will suffice to show these peculiarities.

13.3.4b	muṣkabarho gavām iva	> all Or: muṣkavṛho°
13.7.3a	kva rātrī niviśate kvāhaḥ kvedam	> all Or: °kvetim
15.20.8	namas te staniyitnave	> all Or: °stanaitnave

Errors based on paleographic peculiarities: Orissa

Just as in the Kashmir branch of the PS, similar types of copying mistakes influenced by paleography are expected in the Orissa manuscripts of the PS. However, when dealing with the Oriya script we are in a more difficult situation because of the lack of studies of the Eastern Nāgarī, as well as Oriya. To my knowledge, only one such study exists, K.B. Tripathi's *The Evolution of the Oriya Language and Script* (1963), which presents a study of the development of Oriya based only on the earliest available inscriptions from Orissa. Tripathi provides illustrations of the basic Eastern Nāgarī and Proto-Bengali forms from ca. 1050 - 1400 and with Oriya forms from ca. 1350 - 1550. With these materials, one gets a basic picture of the development of the Oriya script via Eastern Nāgarī/ Proto-Bengali.

In studying the manuscripts from the Orissa branch of the PS, we are limited to the degree of confidence with which we can trace back the written transmission of our manuscripts. First, we must note that the Oriya script split from Proto-Bengali only around ca. 1400. It is at that time that the typical loops or curves found on top of Oriya letters, replacing the Nāgarī headline, begin to appear. Furthermore, although we find mistakes based on Proto-Bengali script, we are still faced with the problem of the split of Proto-Bengali from Eastern Nāgarī. However, we can be relatively certain of the written sub-archetype, *B, in

Proto-Oriya/Early Oriya which can be dated to at least ca. 1400 .¹¹²

One can trace at least two general steps in the transmission of the PS in Orissa. First, moving back in time, our manuscripts (Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c and Gu_c) must have been copied from hyper-archetypes (*C and *E) already in Oriya script. This is indicated by the variety of copying mistakes which indicate Early Oriya > modern Oriya copying. Among the typical copying mistakes are the following.

Figure IV provides the alphabet of the Oriya script.

ma ~ sa
u ~ ña
tya ~ dhya
pa ~ ya
t a ~ u
ṛ ~ ṛa ~ ru
ra ~ ca

The next step is the copying of our manuscripts via their respective hyper-archetypes from a sub-archetype *B in Eastern Nāgarī/proto-Bengali (c. 1400). Again, we are limited by the lack of paleographic tools available to study proto-Bengali/Early Oriya. However, we can still detect few mistakes that can only be explained as copying errors from Early Eastern Nāgarī/Proto-Bengali Script:

4.33.1	buhudhā yam indhate	>	Or. invate
20.13.4	yajamanāya +suvata	>	Or: śundhata

¹¹² However, this is not an insurmountable problem as the variations between Early Nāgarī and Western Nāgarī are mostly based on the type of top line or notch and the sharpness of the angle of other strokes. In the eastern varieties of Nāgarī, there is a movement away from the cursive round hand type of the western type. See Bühler (1896).

Table IV
The modern Oriya Script

a ଅ	ā ଆ	i ଇ	ī ଈ	u ଉ	ū ଊ
ṛ ଋ	ṝ ୠ	e ଏ	ai ଐ	o ଓ	au ଔ
k କ	kh ଖ	g ଗ	gh ଘ	ṅ ଙ	
c ଚ	ch ଛ	j ଜ	jh ଝ	ñ ଣ	
ṭ ଡ	ṭh ଢ	ḍ ଢ	ḍh ଢ	ṇ ନ	
t ଡ	th ଡ	d ଡ	dh ଡ	n ନ	
p ଫ	ph ଫ	b ବ	bh ବ	m ମ	
y ଯ	r ର	l ଲ	v ଋ		

E Materials for the Edition
Kā

The *Kashmirian Atharvaveda* edited by Maurice Bloomfield and Richard Garbe, Reproduced by Chromaphotography from the manuscript in the University Library at Tübingen (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1901). Birch Bark. Śāradā script, generally without accents. The manuscript is accented only in certain sections. 286 folios (fol. 1 and 21 are missing, fol. 2-6a, 22, 42 and 43 are very defective). 14 - 21 x 11 - 16 cm, 13 -23 lines per folio. See Figure IV.

The colophon has the date: *saṃvat 95 mārga śuti trayodaśam śukravāsare*.¹¹³ Each folio of Kā contains on average between 13-26 lines. From the mention of the weekday in the manuscripts, Claus Vogel has calculated the colophon is to be dated to Friday, December 15, 1419 AD.¹¹⁴ Corrections are written above the line of text or on the margin by the *prima manu* but also occasionally by the *secunda manu*. Corrections above the text line seem to generally belong to *prima manu*.

Several pages were misplaced when Kā was copied from *K. This is visible in PSK 13.3.3 to PSK 13.5.5 and PSK 11.7.1 to 11.8.6.

¹¹³ The colophon of Kā actually consists of two colophons. The first part of the colophon must have been copied from *K while the second part was written the scribe who copied Kā, Mera Bhava.

¹¹⁴ See Witzel (1985a).



Figure II: Facsimile of Kā

B_T

The *Kashmirian Atharvaveda* edited with critical notes by Leroy Carr Barret. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. Book 11, *JAOS* 44: 1923; Book 12, *JAOS* 46: 1924; Book 13 *JAOS* 48: 1928; Book 14, *JAOS* 47: 1927. This is Barret's transcription and edition of the PS based only on the facsimile of the manuscript of the Kā edited by Bloomfield and Garbe.

Mā_{1c}

A photocopy of folios 81-102 of Mā, a set of manuscripts from Makanda, used by D. M. Bhattacharya (1964, 1972) and D. Bhattacharya (1977). The palm-leaves were photocopied by D.M. Bhattacharya in Calcutta. The photocopy made by M. Witzel in 1982, Mā_{1c}, is a photocopy of Bhattacharya's photocopy.

Inscribed palm-leaf. Oriya script. Approximately 28 x 4.5 cm. Unaccented. See Figure III.

Mā is a set of manuscripts in two codices

Mā₁ kāṇḍa-s VI - XV

Mā₂ kāṇḍa-s XVI - XX

Folios are inscribed on both sides, labeled 'a' and 'b', probably by D.M. Bhattacharya. Each folio-side generally has four lines of text (fol. 81a, 81b, 83b, 100a, 100b, 101a, 101b, 102a, and 102b have three lines of text each). The

manuscript does not have a colophon that indicates a date.¹¹⁵ Each folio has two holes through which a string was run in order to tie together the entire book.

Mā_{1c} marks end of the first verse with a single *daṇḍa* | and the end of the stanza with a double *daṇḍa* ||. Mā_{1c} also marks the end of pāda a and c with a small stroke placed slightly above the line of text. However, Mā_{1c} is not wholly consistent in marking pāda-s. In some folios, pāda-s are not marked. End of hymns are marked by the number of the hymn and the number of stanzas, for example, ||3|| ṛ 10||.

¹¹⁵ D.M. Bhattacharya (1964: xviii-xix).

Ma_{2c}

A photocopy of folios 124-139 of Ma₂, a set of manuscripts from Mahantipura, used by D.M. Bhattacharya (1964, 1972) and D. Bhattacharya (1997). The palm-leaves were photocopied by D.M. Bhattacharya in Calcutta. The photocopy made by M. Witzel in 1982, Ma_{2c}, is a photocopy of Bhattacharya's photocopy. Oriya script. Unaccented. Approximately 38.5 x 3.5 cm. See Figure IV.

Ma is a set of manuscripts in five codices:

Ma ₁	kāṇḍa-s	I - V
Ma ₂	kāṇḍa-s	III- XV
Ma ₃	kāṇḍa-s	XVI
Ma ₄	kāṇḍa-s	XVII and XVIII.56
Ma ₅	kāṇḍa-s	XIX - XX

Folios are inscribed on both sides, labeled 'a' and 'b' probably by D.M.

Bhattacharya. Each folio side generally has four lines of text (folio 139a has five lines of text; folio 139b has three lines of text).

Ma₃ has a colophon statement: ¹¹⁶

vīra śrī mukundadeva mahārājāṅkara viśo subharājye samasta a10ñke
vaiśākhaśukladvītīyā budhavāre vīrapuruṣottamapuraśāsan naramahājana-
jagannātha upādhyāyena likhitam idaṃ pustakam\

¹¹⁶ Bhattacharya (1964: xviii).

“According to Sri Kendaratha Mahapatra of the Orissa State Museum, the date mentioned here falls on the year 1666 AD.”¹¹⁷ In addition, Ma₄ has another colophon statement: *śrīmadbalabhadramahārājā aṣṭika vicchādi 26na ravivāra*.¹¹⁸ Mr. Mahapatra calculates this to be the year 1656 AD.¹¹⁹

Ma₂ marks the end of the first verse with a single daṇḍa |. The end of the stanza is marked by ||. End of the hymn is indicated by the number of the hymn and the number of verses in the hymn, for example, ||3|| ṛ 10||. Each folio has two holes through which a string was run in order to tie the entire book together.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., xviii.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., xviii.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., xviii.

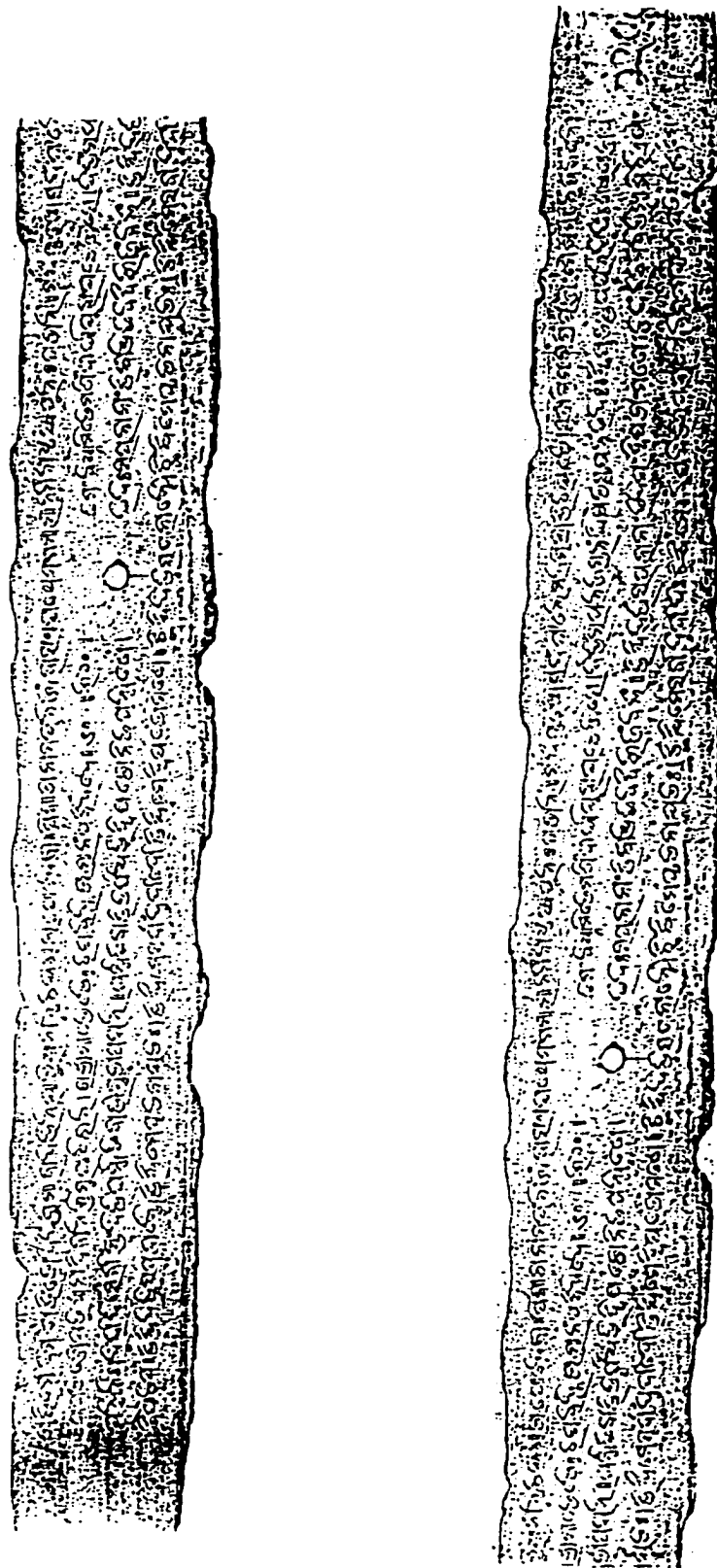


Figure IV: Facsimile of Ma, a photocopy from original manuscripts in the possession of Dipak Bhattacharya. Obtained by M. Witzel in 1982

Pa_c

A modern hand copy of a manuscript from the village of Parikula in Northern Orissa. The manuscript was photocopied by M. Witzel at the Paippalāda Pāṭhaśālā in Puri in 1986. In the late 1970's/early 1980's, the manuscript was sent to the Śaṅkarācārya in Kamakoti in Kañci. It seems to have been copied there and then returned to the pāṭhaśālā. In the 1970's, the manuscript was copied for a landholder in Baisiṅga, south of Baripada. The copy was made by a schoolteacher (Kuñja Bihārī) who taught in Singbum, Bihar. He copied the manuscript using carbon paper, which he kept for himself. The carbon paper copy is the source of our Pa_c.

The exemplar is a photocopy of a carbon paper copy, 8.5 x 13, typical Indian paper, slightly longer than the standard 8.5 x 11. Oriya script. Unaccented. The manuscript has no colophon indicating the date of the manuscript from which the copy was made. See Figure V below.

A statement indicating the end of the each book marks the end of each book 13 and 14. Each book begins on a new sheet of paper rather than continuing on the same sheet. Sheets are numbered on the upper right hand corner with Oriya numerals. The sheets are numbered from 169-210. The end of the first verse is marked by a single daṇḍa |. The end of the stanza is marked by a double daṇḍa, ||. End of pāda-s is irregularly marked with commas.

Gu_c

A modern hand copy of a manuscript in a private collection from the village of Guhiapal, near Baharagora in Singbhum (East), Bihar. The manuscript was procured on behalf of M. Witzel by Dr. Nivedita Mohanty of Jamshedpur (Bihar).

The original manuscript has been copied onto notebook paper, approximately 8.5 x 12.5 in. Oriya script. Unaccented. No colophon is provided. Each line consists of one verse. The first verse is marked by a double daṇḍa ||. The end of the stanza is marked by the stanza number between double daṇḍa-s, for example ||7||. See Figure VI below.

Each hymn is numbered at the beginning rather than at the end, as is the usual fashion. Hymns are numbered with the book number followed by the hymn number, for example, 13-3. Each sheet of paper is numbered 95-119 on the upper right hand corner with printed numerals. A statement indicating the end of the each book marks the end of each book 13 and 14.

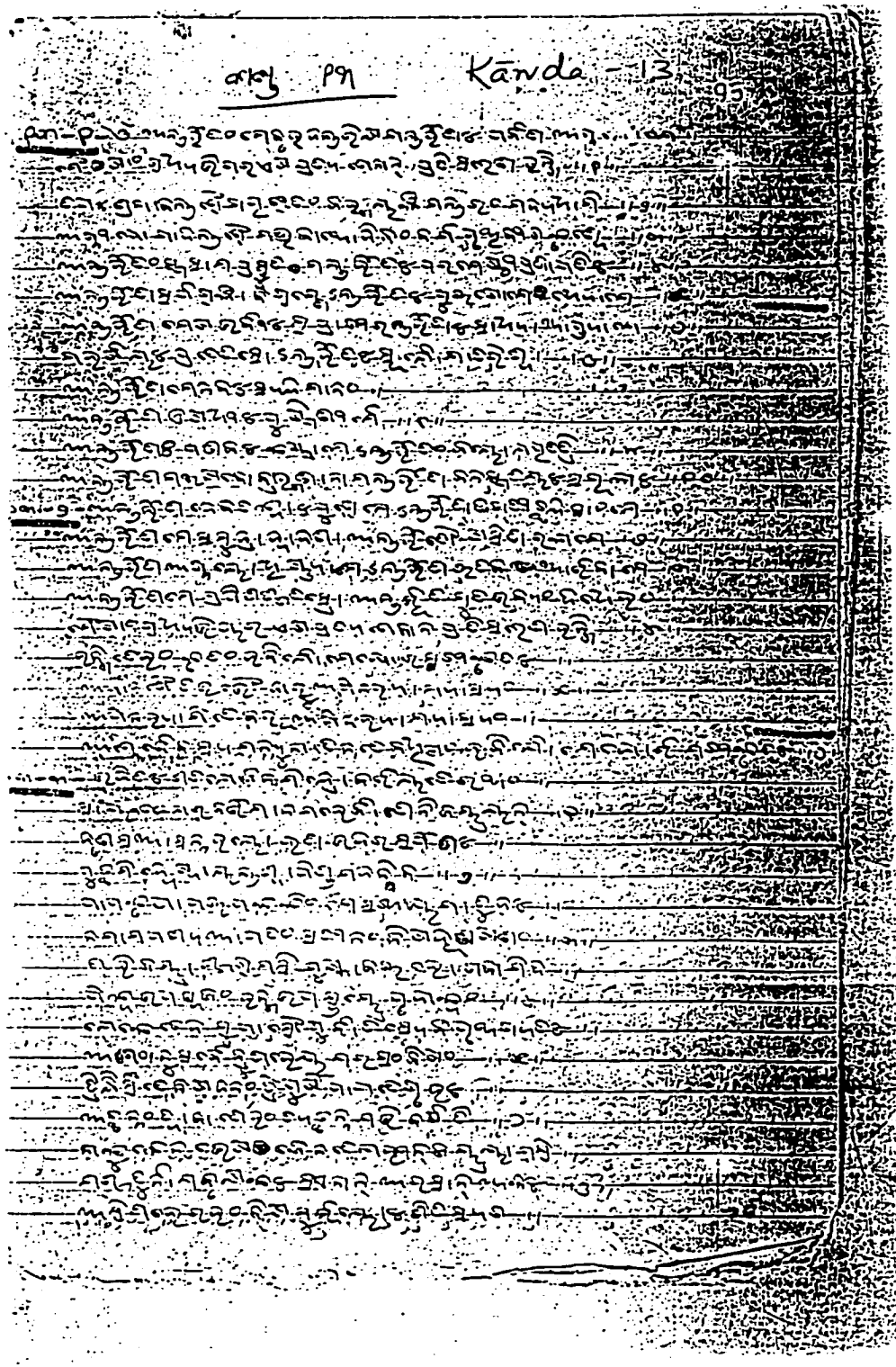
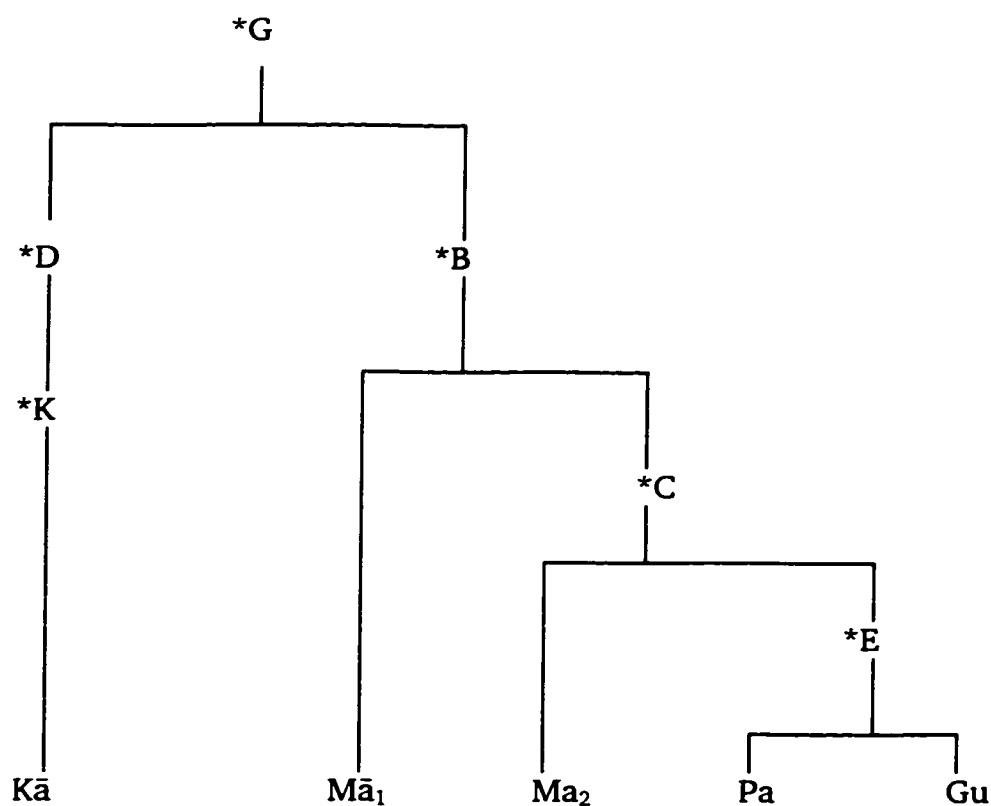


Figure VI: Facsimile of Gu

G ***Genealogical Relation of the Manuscripts***

In the process of editing the PS, I have been rather lucky in one aspect: that I have dealt with a closed recension. This means that manuscript tradition has been free of contamination, and the manuscripts contain errors that could only have arisen if they were present in the exemplar from which they were copied. The following *stemma codicum* is the first published *stemma* proposing *G as the archetype of the PS from which all subsequent manuscripts were copied.



The Kashmiri Branch, PSK

The transmission of the Kashmiri branch of the PS has been discussed in detail by Witzel (1973, 1976), who has conclusively shown that all existing exemplars of PSK are copies of Kā, the manuscript in the Tübingen Library.

**K*

Kā, the representative of the Kashmiri Branch of the PS, derives from *D via an intermediary, *K, in an older form of Śāradā script ca. 14th century, which precedes Kā by 100-150 years. That this must be the case is indicated by several errors that are the typical result of copying into Śāradā from a Śāradā original.

One particular relic that leads to the above conclusion is the scant use of *prṣṭamātra* signs for medial vowels in Kā. Prṣṭamātra vowels were already obsolete in Śāradā by the 15th century. Another indication that Kā was copied from a manuscript in an older Śāradā script is the use of the old, initial i- with the three dots on top joined into a curve. This type of initial i- is already attested in manuscripts by the 15th century, as well as in older Śāradā inscriptions from Kashmir. This initial -i is used in Kashmiri manuscripts until the 16th century; after that, only the form with the curve is found.¹²⁰ Several other simple mistakes in copying from Śāradā to Śāradā are visible. The simplest one is probably the confusion of m and s. The following are some of the most common mistakes found throughout Kā:

¹²⁰ See Deambi (1982).

ta/u
th/ś
kt/ku
nd/rd
bhy/ty

These mistakes are so common that one can even find them in the recent edition of D. Bhattacharya (1997). At PS 13.4.5, Bhattacharya notes the Kā variant: *°tvāmāsto viśvagviṣamkhānabhiva°*. Kā actually reads: *°ānamiva°*, as correctly indicated by Barret and re-checked by me.¹²¹ When Bhattacharya or his reader¹²² of Kā copied the variants, he made the exact typical mistake that the scribe of Kā must have made several times, m ~ bh.

Since there are no dated Kashmiri manuscripts before the 15th century available, an accurate estimate based on archaic paleographic traits is difficult to confirm. However, according to Witzel (1973, 1976), the tentative conclusion that *K must have been older than 1450 is crucial as it is around this time that the PS was supposedly re-introduced into Kashmir by Yuddhabhaṭṭa. If, as it is

¹²¹ N.B. Both Barret and Bhattacharya have misread this reading in folio 141b2. They both have *°viṣamkhāna°*. However, the akṣara -kh- is not what the manuscript reflects. The akṣara in the manuscript, in fact, does not resemble anything close to -kh-. It seems to reflect an older ligature probably -ṣm- in *D which has been misunderstood in *K. It is fairly clear that what the scribe of *K read in *B does not represent -ṣm-.

¹²² Bhattacharya mentions in his introduction that his brother made his Bengali transcript of the Orissa codices (Vā, Mā). One can only speculate as to the veracity of his statements about having checked Kā himself. From his apparatus, it is difficult to tell whether he consulted Kā or just Barret's or Raghu Vira's transcription and edition.

claimed by both Bhattacharya-s, based on the interpolated passage in Jonarāja's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, the oral tradition was also re-introduced, then one could have expected the oral tradition to have compensated for the many errors of the manuscript tradition. In fact, this is not the case, as can be seen by several features shared by both branches of the tradition, i.e. *lacunae* and shared unintelligible passages.

**D*

The process of transmission of any text must be studied in stages. Errors of the Śāradā > Śāradā variety are not sufficient to explain all the corrupt readings in Kā via *K. If, as the above evidence strongly suggests, one rejects the so-called Yuddhabhaṭṭa-hypothesis, then one must assume that *K was copied from a manuscript which itself goes farther back in time. The remaining shared 'corrupt' readings in both branches of PS support this assumption. The two hyper-archetypes, namely *D and *B, must themselves descend from an older manuscript *G.

*D can be safely established on the ground of writing mistakes which arise, not when copying Śāradā > Śāradā, but rather when copying from Early Nāgarī > Śāradā. Typical errors found throughout Kā include:

u > ta
c > m
d > m
ś > m
th > ś

The following specific examples, unlike the ones listed above are not found as

often in Kā, but can only be explained as arising when copying from *D:

lh > hl	13.1.7	*balhikeṣu	> bahlikemukhu	Kā
ṣ > p	9.12.5	prāṇeṣu	> prāṇopu	Kā
h > ph	15.10.8	viśvahā	> viśvapha	Kā
d > ś	9.13.6	dūtau yamasya	> śatto yama°	Kā
kṣa > ndha	9.4.7	rakṣayādhvai	> randhayādhvai	Kā
ni > nyo	9.11.13	yonim	> yonyo	Kā

The Orissa Branch, PSO

The *stemma codicum* above shows for the first time the clear relationship of the manuscripts that represent the Orissa branch of the PS. D. Bhattacharya, in his recent edition of PS 1-15, was unable to discuss or simply neglected the discussion of this relationship.

**E*

From the analysis of several factors including orthography, pronunciation, common readings, and common *lacunae*, one can see that Ma₂, Pa, and Gu stand in contrasting relation to Mā₁. This is most clear when one compares the many-shared *lacunae* among the Orissa manuscripts. In cases where Ma₂, Pa, and Gu share a *lacuna*, Mā₁ has the correct reading. For example:

15.16.4d	Kā	viśasya viśadūṣānī z4z
	Mā _{1c}	viśasya viśadūṣānī
	Ma _{2c}	viśasya vi[]
	Pa _c	viśasya vi[]
	Gu _c	viśasya vi[]

This is nicely counterchecked by:

15.11.6d	Kā	indrasya vajraṃ haviṣā rathaṃ yaja z6z
	Mā _{1c}	indrasya [] haviṣā rathaṃ yaja
	Ma _{2c}	indrasya vajraṃ haviṣā rathaṃ yaja
	Pa _c	indrasya vajraṃ haviṣā rathaṃ yaja
	Gu _c	indrasya vajraṃ haviṣā rathaṃ yaja

The relationship between Ma₂, Pa and Gu can be further narrowed. There is evidence to conclude that Pa and Gu are related to Ma₂ via an intermediary, *E.¹²³

For example:

13.8.1b	Kā	tān na pravṛūhy adi*** pravettha
	Mā _{1c}	tān naḥ prabrūhi yadi tān\ pravettha
	Ma _{2c}	tān naḥ prabrūhi yadi tān\ pravettha
	Pa _c	tān naḥ prabruhi [] tān\ pravettha
	Gu _c	tan naḥ prabrahi [] tān\ pravettha

14.6.1c	Kā	ayutaṃ prayutaṃ bhavāksatur
	Mā _{1c}	ayutaṃ prayutaṃ bhavāksitir
	Ma _{2c}	ayutaṃ prayutaṃ bhavāksitir
	Pa _c	ayutaṃ [] bhavāksitir
	Gu _c	ayutaṃ [] bhavāksitir

*B

The long written tradition of the Orissa branch of the PS is further clarified by many miswritings and most importantly by the *lacunae* found in all manuscripts representing the Orissa branch of PS. The numerous *lacunae* in the manuscripts could have been easily corrected if an even semi-stable oral tradition had existed.

Generally, *B can be deduced from the agreement of readings among the Orissa manuscript vs. Kā. This is quite clear from several instances, for example:

PS 14.6.4	Kā	śataudanā dvādaśāhena kalpate
	Mā _{1c}	śataudanā dvādaśāhena saṃmitā
	Ma _{2c}	śataudanā dvādaśāhena saṃmitā
	Pa _c	śataudanā dvādaśāhena saṃmitā
	Gu _c	śataudanā dvādaśāhena saṃmitā

¹²³ See also PS 13.7.3, 13.8.1, and 15.11.5.

However, agreement in true readings is not as significant as reading of secondary origin – corruptions and emendations.

Mistakes arising from the long written tradition of *B are more significant, for example:

PS 13.3.6ab	Kā	<u>tr̥mdam</u>	te niṣadalaṃ	<u>nṛpaśrī</u>	pāpa te gr̥haḥ
	Mā _{1c}	triddhisi	te niṣadanaṃ	tripuṣi	pāpa te gr̥haḥ
	Ma _{2c}	triddhisi	te niṣadanaṃ	tripuṣi	pāpa te gr̥haḥ
	Pa _c	triddhisi	te niṣadanaṃ	tripuṣi	pāpa te gr̥haḥ
	Gu _c	triddhisi	te niṣadanaṃ	tripuṣi	pāpa te gr̥haḥ

The example below, PS 14.8.1b is particularly illustrative as it shows an error that probably goes back to the ur-AV:¹²⁴

Kā	-aśvakṣara	suhavā sambhṛtaśrī
Mā _{1c}	-aśvakṣatā	suhavā sambhṛtaśrī
Ma _{2c}	-aśvakṣatā	suhavā sambhṛtaśrī
Pa _c	-aśvakṣatā	suhavā sambhṛtaśrī
Gu _c	-aśvakṣatā	suhavā sambhṛtaśrī
ŚS	-aśvakṣatā	suhāvā sām̐bhṛtaśrī
ŚS _{SPP}	-aśvakṣabhā	suhāvā sambhṛtaśrī

These two examples clearly represent a split in the written transmission of the text which must go back to an already garbled reading in *G.

An examination of the Orissa manuscripts shows many writing mistakes arise when copying from a proto-Bengali/Early Oriya original. Among the copying mistakes a scribe is liable to make are:

¹²⁴ This example is discussed extensively in the notes to PS 14.8.

m ~ s
c ~ r
Cv ~ Cy
t ~ u
p ~ v
ñ ~ u

Finally, the counter-check to any suggestion that our exemplars do not go back to *B in proto-Bengali/Early Oriya is the set of errors which remain after the phonetic peculiarities based on Oriya pronunciation and paleography. Some mistakes which remain can be understood only if we postulate *G, in Late Gupta/Early Nāgarī script. These errors then become clear if we follow the history of the transmission *G > *B.

The best evidence that indicates a common source is again *lacunae*. For *B, such proof is also available. PS 13.3.7 shows a *lacuna* shared by all Orissa manuscripts.¹²⁵ This important *lacuna*, which is crucial also as proof for *G is discussed in detail below.

¹²⁵ Additionally, other *lacunae* are partly shared by Orissa manuscripts. In particular, the *lacuna* in 15.20.1 is shared by *E and Kā but not by Mā_{1c}. This instance is still sufficient to indicate a *lacuna* in *B. It is quite possible that *B indeed had the *lacuna*, but it was corrected early on (long before c. 1600) in Mā₁ by the oral tradition. Other partially shared *lacunae* are found in PS 15.6.6 and 15.8.8. These *lacunae* were very likely already present in *G, but were corrected in some manuscript lines by the oral tradition, which must have been alive at the time of *G, *D and *B but certainly had disappeared by the time of *E. These examples are not part of the present dissertation but are part of my ongoing work with the Paippalāda Saṃhitā.

H *The Authentic Paippalāda Saṃhitā, *G*

The existence of the archetype from which both branches of the PS descend can be established based on two main lines of argumentation that complement each other. First, the archetype can be deduced from the remaining peculiarities of each branch that cannot be explained as the result of the influence of local language, paleographic developments, and/or learned corrections. Secondly, the common archetype can be proven, beyond much doubt, based on common *lacunae* in both branches of the tradition. The weight of the *lacunae* rests on the “principle that the most significant agreements between manuscripts are those involving omissions and transpositions...since these are not easily transmitted horizontally.”¹²⁶

The remaining mistakes or peculiarities on both branches of the PS tradition point to both *D and *B being descendants of a predecessor, which is neither of Kashmiri origin nor of Eastern or Bengali origin. This leads to the conclusion that both sub-archetypes, *D and *B, descend from a manuscript which must have come from somewhere in north or northwestern India.

The first formal feature that is apparent upon a glance at all the available manuscripts is the arrangement of the text of both branches into ‘hymns’ of 10 + x verses. This is particularly clear for the portion of the PS that is the topic of this dissertation.

¹²⁶ West (1973: 43).

One can see this arrangement in the AV Takman hymn, PSK 13.1 = PSO 12.1-2. This hymn, which consists of 16 stanzas in the PS, is arranged into 10 + x verses even in Kā, which normally does not re-number the stanza following the 10th one with number 1.¹²⁷ Both branches show that the original numbering of the PS was 10 + x.¹²⁸

The same pattern is present in PS 15.10, which is RV 6.75.1-10. Only the first 10 verses are taken into the first hymn. The next hymn, PS 15.11, picks up after the insertion of ŚS 7.51.1 = PS 15.11.1, with RV 6.75.11, 14, 13 = PS 15.11.2, 4, 5, and other verses from the RV. Even though the entire Rgvedic hymn has not been taken into the PS collection, one would have expected that the 'sacred' Rgvedic hymn would have been preserved as a unit.

The reason why PS redactors have chosen this very peculiar arrangement still has to be investigated. However, this pattern may go back to an ur-AV arrangement since a similar division is found in ŚS. Whitney, in the introduction to his translation of the ŚS, has noted the division of longer hymns into *decad-sūkta-s*, which begins in the second grand division (at book 8). "[M]etrical hymns, being much longer than most of those in the first division, are themselves

¹²⁷ In this particular example, Kā marks the end of sūkta with z z after the 10th stanza. The following stanza is counted as number 1.

¹²⁸ However, the hymn has been misplaced in Kā. It properly belongs in book 12, a book consisting of hymns of 4 + 12 stanza, as is indicated by the statement in the manuscripts at the end of each book.

divided into verse-decads or groups of ten verses, five or more add verses at the end of a hymn counting as an added decad.”¹²⁹ It is noted that these decads are called *sūkta*-s by the commentators.

The *artha-sūkta* division also seems to be at work in the PS and ŚS.¹³⁰ According to Whitney, the commentators understand this system quite well as they note that ŚS 47 & 48, as well as 49 & 50, form ‘subject-matter hymns.’ Again, this type of division is clearly present in the PS as ŚS 49 & 50 = PS 14.8 & 9.

So, what can be said about the arrangement of the hymns in the PS, in both PSK and PSO? The arrangement and division of PSK can at best be called random throughout each book. A quick glance at Barrett’s introduction to each book tells us that there is very little consistency in each of the PSK books as to the arrangement.¹³¹ PSK 13 contains *sūkta*-s ranging in number from 10 to 28 stanzas that are not arranged within the *kāṇḍa* in any systematic way. Of those 14 *sūkta*-s in PSK 13, the ones found in PSO 13¹³² are not divided into decads or

¹²⁹ Whitney (1905: cxxxii-cxxxiii).

¹³⁰ Ibid., cxxxiii.

¹³¹ Unlike the RV, there is no sense of the hymns arrangement progressing in terms of increasing number of stanzas.

¹³² Those are PSK 12 = PSO 13.1, part of PSK 13.13 (PSK 11.1) = PSO 13.1-2, PSK 13.14 = PSO 13.7-9.

10 + X, but are rather found, generally, as single artha-sūкта-s.¹³³ PSK 14 similarly consists of hymns of 17, 20 and 30 stanzas. The sūкта-s in PSK 14 that are found in PSO 14¹³⁴ are again found in artha-sūкта-s in PSK. Thus, we can advance the idea that 10 + X is an arrangement which may make learning whole units (hymns) much easier than the longer *anūvaka* 'the portion repeated after the teacher' division.¹³⁵

Another peculiarity that can be observed from all the manuscripts is the method of abbreviating a stanza that has occurred elsewhere in the text of the saṃhitā and which is subsequently repeated for x-number of times. Both branches do this by shortening the repeated pāda, usually preserving the first one or two akṣara-s and by marking the abbreviated section with *iti* [number] in PSO and *iti* [number] *rc* in PSK. For example, 14.1.2 - 5

Kā:	hiranyavarṇā catasraḥ ṛ4 paṭhet
Mā _{1c}	hiranyavarṇā iti catasraḥ
Ma _{2c}	[same]
Pa _c	[same]
Gu _c	hiranyavarṇāh sucayaḥ pāvaka....

The verses are found in PS 1.25.2 - 4. When the verse or stanza to be repeated is

¹³³ A good example of this is PSK 13.14 = PSO 13.7, 8 & 9.

¹³⁴ PSK 14.1 = PSO 14.1-2, PSK 14.2 = PSO 14.3-4, PSK 3 = PSO 14.5-7 and PSK 14.4 = PSO 14.8-9 = ŚS 19.49-50

¹³⁵ According to D. Bhattacharya's apparatus, some PS manuscripts (Kā and Vā) indicate anuvāka-division. The decad division of hymns must have another purpose other than teaching and learning.

part of the same hymn, the abbreviated verse is only indicated by the first one or two akṣara-s being repeated in each subsequent elision. See, for example, PS 13.1 and PS 14.1.

This method of abbreviating verses is only limited to the PS. ŚS abbreviates repeated verses in a similar fashion.¹³⁶ Thus, this indicates that this practice must itself be part of the redacting tradition of the Atharva tradition.

The common archetype to both branches of the PS is further proved by common *lacunae*. The essential example, which solidifies the hypothesis of the existence of an archetype that is the common source of PSK and PSO, was discovered by Witzel (1985a). While working with the copies of the manuscripts that D. Bhattacharya made accessible during his research visit to Leiden, Witzel noticed that in PS 13.1 the word *antarhitā* was repeated at the beginning of verses 13.1.4 - 10, and continuing in 13.2.1-5. However, in PS 13.1.7 the word at the beginning of the verse is omitted in all manuscripts. At the time of his initial discovery in 1981, Witzel only had available to him Kā, Mā_{1c} and Ma_{2c}. Since that time, we have acquired two additional manuscripts, namely, Pa_c and Gu_c, which have this *lacuna*.

It may be argued that this is a simple mistake: the scribe skipped over the

¹³⁶ Whitney notes the *pratīka* abbreviation with the use of *ity* + number (sc. ṛc). He also notes: “the *pratīka* embraces the first word, or the first two [or even the first three, when one or two of them are enclitics].” See Whitney (1905: cxix).

word, and thus this cannot be sufficient evidence to postulate a common ancestor. That argument could hold if only one or two of the manuscripts had the *lacunae*. However, all of our exemplars share this precise *lacuna*. The argument that this is just a simple accident is insufficient for two reasons. First, even if we were to consider our manuscripts to be five independent manuscripts, it is seems inconceivable that five separate scribes could have made exactly same mistake at exactly the same place, not one akṣara more not one akṣara less! Secondly, this mistake is one that could be avoided by any scribe who was paying attention to what he was copying. He copied *antarhitā* at the beginning of two preceding verses and continued to copy that same word for eight verses following.

One must conclude that this gap was already present in the manuscripts from which the scribes where copying the hyper-archetypes (*C, *E and *K) from which our surviving exemplars derive. Therefore, the *lacuna* must have already been present in the sub-archetypes corresponding to the two branches, namely *D and *B, and in *G, the common ancestor to *D and *B.

The fact that this *lacuna* has not been corrected at any point in the history of the transmission of the PS proves the poor quality¹³⁷ of the oral tradition

¹³⁷ The oral tradition of the PS must have continued after the time archetype, as is proven by some *lacunae* which are partially shared among manuscript lines. A detailed comparison of the existing (secondary) oral tradition of the PS with the manuscripts should shed more light on this question.

already by the time of the archetype.¹³⁸ It further indicates that the transmission of the PS had been a written one long before 1419, the date of Kā and the supposed date around which the PS was re-imported into Kashmir by Yuddhabhaṭṭa. These conclusions only contribute to the list of evidence that must lead to the conclusion that the PS was indeed not brought back to Kashmir by Yuddhabhaṭṭa. Rather, a likely scenario may be that the PS had already made its way to Kashmir, with many of its corruptions, already in a written manuscript (probably *D), and our Kā is its descendant.

¹³⁸ This *lacuna* is clearly present in the present day oral tradition of the Paippalādins in Orissa. During his research trip in 1986, Witzel had the opportunity to listen to the recitation of this hymn. The *lacuna* was clearly present. The reciters were not aware of the gap in their recitation. Personal communication with Michael Witzel, Harvard University, Cambridge MA, April 15, 2000.

Chapter IV

THE CRITICAL EDITION, TRANSLATION, AND NOTES

My aim has not been to produce an edition of the PS according to Ṛgvedic peculiarities, ŚS peculiarities, or, even worse, to produce an edition of an Ur-AV. The aim has been to produce an edition of the authentic Paippalāda Samhitā which reflects *G, the written archetype. The present critical edition can be called ‘authentic’ because it aims to preserve peculiar Paippalāda readings, which potentially but improperly could be corrected according to some other tradition.¹³⁹

“Lower” criticism has been used to reconstruct the authentic PS, stressing primarily the evidence provided by PS manuscripts. The first step has been to try to ascertain that a conjectured reading can be explained as the result of errors due to the transmission of our text. The two sources of errors, discussed in Chapter II, are the influence of local languages upon the recitation of Vedic and copying mistakes due to the scripts involved. The counter check – seeing the error produced from the conjectured reading – has also been carried out. Once a

¹³⁹ See Hoffmann (1968a).

reading has been arrived at by this method, it must then be considered authentic to the PS. If my conjecture produces a reading that makes good grammatical sense and is grammatically satisfying, then my job is more or less done. If however, the reading produces an authentically peculiar reading then, it must be further considered within the scope of grammar, poetics and history of the Paippalāda Saṃhitā. It is then that “higher” criticism may “address itself to further questions of interpretation and of the influences that have worked upon the text.”¹⁴⁰

A Punctuation

Daṇḍa

All manuscripts mark the end of the first verse and the end of the stanza with a single daṇḍa | and a double daṇḍa ||, respectively. It is to be noted that Kā generally uses the symbol z as well as |, as its daṇḍa. The end of the first verse is irregularly marked in Ka with z ; sometimes it is marked with |. The end of the stanza with a double mark, zz;¹⁴¹ again, sometimes it is marked with z or |.

Mā_{1c} marks the pāda-s¹⁴² boundary more or less regularly with a small stroke, ', placed just above the line of text between a/b and c/d. In the present edition, the pāda boundaries have been marked with a smaller superscripted

¹⁴⁰ Garzilli (1996: 14).

¹⁴¹ zz is generally used to mark the end of the hymn.

¹⁴² In this discussion, pāda refers to the foot or quarter that constitutes a stanza.

daṇḍa, ¹. Where Mā_{1c} does not mark the pāda boundary, it has been indicated as ^[1] in order to show this important detail about the transmission of the PS. For the most part, Mā_{1c} marks pāda boundaries throughout PS 13 and 14. Pa_c seems to sporadically mark pāda boundaries, with its usual commas, throughout 13 and 14.¹⁴³

Virāma

Both branches regularly use the *virāma* to mark final consonants that are not followed by an unexpressed -a. I have marked the virāma with (̣).

Avagraha

The avagraha sign is not used consistently by all manuscripts. Kā never uses the avagraha sign, even in places where abhinihita sandhi is applied and the a- has been dropped. The Orissa manuscripts irregularly use the sign; however, when it is used all manuscripts generally agree on its usage.¹⁴⁴ For the most part, both branches do not use the sign where abhinihita sandhi is applied, i.e., -e a- > -e ' -, -o a- > -o ' -. In order to aid the reader, where the manuscripts have applied abhinihita sandhi and dropped the initial a, the edition will indicate [']-.

¹⁴³ Pa_c has not been followed when marking pāda boundaries because of the general inconsistency the manuscripts show in this regard.

¹⁴⁴ There are 8 instances where all Orissa manuscript agree in the usage of the avagraha. In 5 other instances, only some of the manuscript use the sign. Generally, when abhinihita sandhi is applied, avagraha is not used. *B probably did not use avagraha.

B Sandhi

Abhinihita sandhi of the type -o ' and -e ' is not consistently applied in the manuscripts. As Macdonell notes, a- is often not written in the saṃhitā-s.¹⁴⁵ In the AV in particular, it is dropped about two-thirds of the time. See above under avagraha.

Homorganic nasals: -ṇ, -ñ, -ṇ, -n, m

The manuscripts are not consistent in their spelling of final nasals. It is unclear whether this really reflects the situation in the archetype. As has been shown by Witzel (1985b, 1994), both branches of the Paippalāda tradition have definite phonetic 're-interpretations' of final nasal sounds. This may indicate a trace of an oral tradition at an early period. In certain places, it looks like there is wholesale substitution of anusvāra for all final homorganic nasals. However, alongside this situation, one finds instances of the correct use of the homorganic nasals.

Neither the Orissa nor the Kashmir branches regularly distinguish anusvāra (-ṁ) and anunāsika (-ṁ̃). Both branches tend to write -ṁ throughout. However, there are several instances in the Orissa text of -āñ a-, which seem to indicate that at least in the Orissa branch -ṇ is the way in which anunāsika is written. This is confirmed by the use of anunāsika, written by ᳚,¹⁴⁶ in Kā in many of the same

¹⁴⁵ Macdonell (1910: 66).

¹⁴⁶ This is the way older manuscripts from Kashmir (RV , KS, PS) write

places where the Orissa manuscripts use ṇ.

For the purposes of the edition, the final sandhi of nasals has not been standardized. When both branches disagree as to the use of the anusvāra, anunāsika, or homorganic nasal, the homorganic nasal or anunāsika has been edited against ṁ. In instances where the branches disagree, Orissa, for the most part, tends to have the correct homorganic nasal.¹⁴⁷ There are also instances of retrograde re-interpretation where, especially in the Orissa manuscripts, -ṁ has been phonetically re-interpreted as -n. These instances have been corrected to indicate the correct -ṁ. Anusvāra-s have not be “corrected” to homorganic nasals.

Sibilant Sandhi: ḥ/ḥ/ḥ

Texts transmitted and preserved in Kashmir use two additional spirant sounds, the *jihvāmūliya* and the *upadhmānīya*.¹⁴⁸ Before gutturals, final s becomes *jihvāmūliya* (ḥ) and before labials, it becomes *upadhmānīya* (ḥ). PSK is

anunāsika. The paleographic development of the anunāsika symbol from Late Gupta script ṇ to its outcome in Śāradā and Oriya (ṇ + m), according to Witzel (1983), preserves the two elements prominent in pronunciation. -ṇ a- reflects the situation in the archetype and has thus been preserved in the present edition against -ṁ a-. See Witzel (1983: 19).

¹⁴⁷ In the Orissa manuscripts, the wholesale substitution of anusvāra for homorganic nasals and anunāsika seems to have been the work of an educated scribe(s) at a point in the transmission beyond the sub-archetypes *D and *B.

¹⁴⁸ Ikari (1995) has noted that this archaic feature is found in older Vedic manuscripts from Kerala. Manuscripts from other parts of South India also mark ḥ and ḥ.

generally consistent in its use of these two graphemes.¹⁴⁹ The Orissa manuscripts do not recognize a distinction of these two sounds from the ‘normal’ ḥ.

Although, as has been pointed out by Witzel (1994), ḥ/ḥ/ḥ is an old feature of Vedic, we cannot be certain that the archetype actually differentiated ḥ/ḥ/ḥ. This may have been the case, or that when the PS tradition reached Kashmir and began to be transmitted there, ḥ/ḥ/ḥ were systematically inserted into the manuscripts by learned scribes. While Kā regularly uses ḥ/ḥ/ḥ, there are many instances where these graphemes are used incorrectly. In light of the normal use of ḥ/ḥ/ḥ in the Kaṭha school, which only survives in Kashmir, it is difficult to imagine that the scribe of Kā (<*K < *D) could have been so inconsistent in his understanding of these graphemes. On the surface, the inconsistent use of ḥ/ḥ/ḥ in Kā could point to a situation where *D may not have used ḥ/ḥ/ḥ but only ḥ. When *K was copied from *D, ḥ/ḥ/ḥ could have been reintroduced in an already inconsistent manner.

If *G actually had ḥ/ḥ/ḥ, we would expect to see in the surviving manuscripts a possible misinterpretation of the sign for ḥ and ḥ when being copied (*G > *K > Kā). The result would be a garbled akṣara at the end of words where the next word begins with k- or p-. This counter check, which would

¹⁴⁹ This may perhaps indicate a reflection in Kā of a tradition in *D or possibly *G where the consistent understanding of the *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhmānīya* was beginning to deteriorate.

clarify the sibilant situation in *G has not surfaced.¹⁵⁰

However, although we have thus far not seen such garbled akṣara-s, there are instances in our manuscripts, especially in the Orissa manuscripts, where even the expect visarga has been dropped. These instance hint that already in the archetype of the PS, there were problems in the recognition of ḥ/ḥ/ḥ. In these instances, neither a garbled akṣara has not been transmitted nor a visarga has been re-inserted.

Although direct evidence of ḥ/ḥ/ḥ is not yet apparent, the sandhi -s s- and -ś ś- (see below), and especially of -s Cs- > -ø Cs-, lend support to the probability that the original situation in *G was ḥ/ḥ/ḥ. For this edition, ḥ/ḥ/ḥ have been systematically re-inserted into the text of the authentic PS.

~~-s s-, -ś ś-~~

Both -s s- and -ś ś- are used throughout manuscripts of both branches of the PS. There is often disagreement in particular instances, and some manuscripts will have -ḥ s- or -ḥ ś-. However, in many of the instances where -s s- and -ś ś- is used, both branches are unanimous in their usage. This sandhi has been adopted as the standard in the edition.

~~-s sC- > -ø sC-~~

There is evidence in the manuscripts from both branches to indicate that in

¹⁵⁰ CA 2.2.1 indicates that the use of ḥ/ḥ/ḥ was the norm in the Śaunaka tradition. However, Whitney (1905) points out that the manuscripts do not distinguish ḥ/ḥ/ḥ. See Deshpande (1997).

the archetype final -s when followed by sC- was dropped. This is an old feature that is indicated by prātiśākhya of the RV, TS, and VS and is generally followed by all manuscripts of PS.¹⁵¹ In order to show this important feature of the tradition, the present edition indicates where it has been applied with corrected sandhi, i.e. -<s> sC-. This sandhi also lends to support to the assumption that -s s- *sandhi* is characteristic of the archetype.

ch for śch and cch

Kā writes -śch- for RV -ch-. In later Sanskrit, this is normally written as -cch-. The Orissa manuscripts consistently write -ch-. At issue is the old pronunciation of -ch- as cluster, from *-sk-.¹⁵² R̥gvedic meter indicates that this -ch- must be measured long and thus pronounced as a cluster. This pronunciation is also reflected in older manuscripts from the Kāṭha School, which write -śch. The writing -śch- reflects an older pronunciation [tʰh].¹⁵³ I have adopted the standard R̥gvedic -ch- that is used by the Orissa manuscripts

C + r > CCr; r + C > rCC

Both branches of the PS tend to double consonants before or after r. Kā regularly writes CCr < Cr as well as rCC < rC. Since these are not etymological

¹⁵¹ Cf. Ikari (1995).

¹⁵² *gachati* (RV) < *gæ-ścæ-ti < *gm̐-ské-ti.

¹⁵³ In manuscripts of VādhŚS in Malayalam, we find -cś- instead of -cch- in order to indicate -śch-. In one early VādhŚS manuscript, we also find -chś-. See Ikari (1995: 14-15).

in nature and are probably optional, with Pāṇini 8.4.46, double consonants have not been edited, but have been noted as variants in the apparatus.¹⁵⁴

-VIV- for -VdV-

Kā, as well as the Orissa manuscripts, use an additional diacritic mark with the sign for -ḍ- to indicate -ḷ-, the intervocalic allophone that is used in the RV. -ḷ- has been adopted throughout the edition.

-b-, -v-

Oriya script does not distinguish between b and v. I have followed standard, etymological Sanskrit orthography in the regularization of these sounds.

C *Accentuation*

The Orissa manuscripts of the PS are unaccented and Kā is only sporadically accented. However, in the parts where it is accented, Kā generally shows correct accentuation especially when compared to ŚS variants. This clearly indicates that at least *K must have been partly accented and that *D, in early Western Nāgarī must have been accented, probably in a system similar to that used in the Kaṭha Saṃhitā.

The edited text has been accented only in those sections where the variant readings in Kā are accented. These sections are the only ones for which we can be certain that the authentic text was accented. Without fully accented PS manuscript, the only other ground for accenting the text would be by following

¹⁵⁴ Cf. CA 3.28.

the accentuation of variants in RV, ŚS, MS, TS, etc.

D Meter

Most of the secondary literature on the meter of the Atharvaveda (what little there is) generally contains statements that speak of the loose character of its meter. Thus, Whitney writes: “The two striking features of the Atharva-Veda as regards its metrical form are the extreme irregularity and the predominance of anuṣṭubh stanzas.”¹⁵⁵ Little effort has gone into studying the meter as it actually occurs in the AV in order to learn what are the acceptable metrical variations allowed in Post-Rgvedic texts.

D. M. Bhattacharya and D. Bhattacharya have done nothing in this regard in their respective editions of portions of the PS. In his edition of PS 2, Zehnder (1999) has provided an analysis of each pāda after having normalized the meter by either restoring (in the case of abhinihita sandhi) or deleting syllables. Griffith (1998) followed the same method.

The present edition follows the same metrical analysis. In addition, I have provided a summary of openings, cadences, and breaks in trimeter verses, following the method of van Nooten and Holland (1994). Table V, VI, and VII below provide a breakdown of the pāda-s following the order of distribution found in the RV. In this manner, one can see a correlation of distribution of the

¹⁵⁵ Whitney (1905: cxxvi).

PS pāda-s as compared to the RV pādas. Only pāda-s that could be normalized have been counted.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁶ Pāda-s of PS 13.5-6 = RV 1.94 have not been included in the calculations.

Table V**Summary of Cadences (PS 13 - 14)**

Anuṣṭubh	PS 13	PS 14	Total	PS %	RV %
U - U X	104	63	167	70.46	80.32
U U U X	7	4	11	4.64	4.10
U - - X	12	6	18	7.59	3.26
- - U X	11	0	11	4.64	2.77
- U U X	4	3	7	2.95	2.39
- - - X	5	6	11	4.64	1.93
U U - X	5	0	5	2.11	1.43
- U - X	3	4	7	2.95	1.31

Triṣṭubh					
- U - X	58	117	175	83.33	94.30
U U - X	3	0	3	1.43	1.49
- U U X	0	5	5	2.38	0.92
- - - X	4	5	9	4.29	0.61
U - U X	2	7	9	4.29	0.15
- - U X	3	6	9	4.29	0.15
U - - X	0	0	0	0.00	0.12
U U U X	0	0	0	0.00	0.10

Jagatī					
- U - U X	3	20	23	71.88	95.80
U U - U X		0	0	0.00	1.64
- U U U X		0	0	0.00	0.69
U - - - X		1	1	3.13	0.24
U - U U X	1	3	4	12.50	0.18
- - U - X		2	2	6.25	0.08
U U U - X		1	1	3.13	0.04
- U U - X		1	1	3.13	0.02
U - - U X		0	0	0.00	0.02
- - U U X		0	0	0.00	0.02

Table VI**Breaks in Trimeter verse (PS 13-14)**

Trimeter After 4th	PS 13	PS 14	Total	PS %	RV %
U U -	17	37	54	37.24	50.86
- U -	17	31	48	33.10	20.70
U U U	5	14	19	13.10	14.72
- U U	5	10	15	10.34	8.50
U - U	1	3	4	2.76	3.75
U - -	0	0	0	0.00	1.80
- - -	0	1	1	0.69	0.85
- - U	0	1	1	0.69	0.62
U U -	0	1	1	0.69	0.00

After 5th					
- U U	15	37	52	52.53	51.81
U U U	7	22	29	29.29	29.89
U - U	2	1	3	3.03	11.83
- - U	2	3	5	5.05	3.19
- U -	2	3	5	5.05	1.77
U U -	0	0	0	0.00	0.35
- - -	1	0	1	1.01	0.64
U - -	0	1	1	1.01	0.35

Table VII**Summary of Openings (PS 13 - 14)****Anuṣṭubh**

	PS 13	PS 14	Total	PS %	RV %
X - - -	46	19	65	27.43	34.79
X - 0 -	28	14	42	17.72	26.55
X 0 - -	16	12	28	11.81	14.27
X - - 0	33	17	50	21.10	10.82
X 0 - 0	15	14	29	12.24	5.63
X - 0 0	8	5	13	5.49	5.57
X 0 0 -	3	5	8	3.38	0.02
X 0 0 0	2	0	2	0.84	0.00

Triṣṭubh

X - 0 -	27	43	70	33.33	40.87
X - - -	18	51	69	32.86	30.30
X 0 - -	10	20	30	14.29	8.59
X - - 0	9	11	20	9.52	7.74
X - 0 0	1	7	8	3.81	5.48
X 0 0 -	1	4	5	2.38	2.44
X 0 - 0	4	4	8	3.81	2.06
X 0 0 0	0	0	0	0.00	0.44

Jagatī

X - 0 -	3	17	20	60.61	45.65
X - - -		4	4	12.12	31.11
X 0 - -		1	1	3.03	8.22
X - - 0		1	1	3.03	4.29
X - 0 0	1	2	3	6.06	5.18
X 0 - 0		2	2	6.06	2.32
X 0 0 -		1	1	6.06	1.54
X 0 0 0		0	0	3.03	0.45

From the admittedly small sample of PS mantra-s contained in the present dissertation, one can gain a better insight into the metrical distributions of this old text as compared to the RV. From the above tables, one can see that the variation in the percentages of distribution in the PS vs. the RV are not as drastic as might be expected.

A examination of the openings¹⁵⁷ and, especially, cadences of anuṣṭubh, triṣṭubh and jagatī verses shows that the only significant variation is that the PS poets have a preference for particular distributions of what van Nooten and Holland have termed uncommon patterns.¹⁵⁸

Anuṣṭubh pāda-s: The distribution of An. openings is quite consistent with the RV distribution patterns.¹⁵⁹ The main variation of the PS An. openings is a preference

¹⁵⁷ In general, as noted by van Nooten and Holland (1994), openings are less important in determining the metrical shape of a pāda. A glance at Tables III and V shows that opening patterns in dimeter and trimeter lines are more widely distributed than the correspond cadences.

¹⁵⁸ It is difficult to get a sense of what constitutes uncommon vs. rare distribution from van Nooten and Holland's introduction. For anuṣṭubh cadences, they note five uncommon patters and two rare patterns. No such mention is made of the uncommon and rare distribution of trimeter opening, cadences, or breaks. When one calculates the percentages based on their summaries, a pattern seems to appear by which they judge uncommon vs. rare. Anuṣṭubh: patterns that show up less than about 2% of the time seems to be counted rare and those that appear 5 % - 2 % are uncommon. Triṣṭubh: less than 1% rare and 10% - 1% are uncommon. Jagatī: less than 0.5% rare and between 10% - .5% are uncommon. I have followed this pattern, making adjustments where the percentages vary in absolute value.

¹⁵⁹ Irregular openings of anuṣṭubh pāda-s with clear divergence from the expected

for X – – 0, X 0 – 0, and X 0 – – over other uncommon patterns. Cadences also show two preferred patterns among the uncommon patterns.

Triṣṭubh pāda-s: The distribution of opening patterns in triṣṭubh pāda-s is virtually the same as that of the ṚV. Cadences, however, show a marked preference for the lower distributions of Ṛgvedic uncommon patterns.

Jagatī pāda-s: Based on the small number of Jagatī pāda-s in our sample, again both openings have a preference the lower distribution of uncommon patterns in ṚV. This can be seen most seen in the cadence pattern 0 – 0 0 X which occurs only .018% in the ṚV but is the preferred uncommon pattern in the PS.

Trimeter Breaks: As can be observed in Table IV, the trimeter break patterns, especially those with caesura after 4th syllable do not vary much from the Ṛgvedic distribution. There is slightly more variation in patterns with caesura after the 5th.

Provisionally, we can conclude that in reality the AV meter is far more regular than we are often lead to believe by the secondary literature on the subject. There is no wild clustering of uncommon patterns, and there is certainly no increased preference by AV poets for rare patterns. It seems that the poets of PS mantra-s were as skilled as their Ṛgvedic counterparts in choosing metrically

iambic pattern can be seen down to the epic period, i.e. *asīd rājā* | *vīrasena* 0 – – – | – 0 – 0. On the general lack of preference for an iambic pattern, except in cadences, see van Nooten and Holland (1994: ix-x).

acceptable combinations.¹⁶⁰

The system of metrical analysis here is the same as adopted by Zehnder (1999) in his re-edition of PS 2. In the present edition, the following notation is used:

- 8 anuṣṭubh pāda
- 8[^] catalectic¹⁶¹ or heptasyllabic anuṣṭubh pāda (cadence ∪ – x)
- [^]8 acephalic¹⁶² anuṣṭubh pāda
- 10 triṣṭubh pāda lacking one syllable
- 11 triṣṭubh pāda
- 11^J Jagatī-pāda lacking one syllable
- 12 Jagatī pāda
- 12[^] Hypersyllabic Triṣṭubh pāda

E Critical Apparatus, Translation, and Notes

The critical apparatus and notes provide variants readings of all manuscripts and other texts that used in the edition. I have adopted the apparatus used by Ykari (1995). This apparatus provides variant readings to the edited text. When all manuscripts agree, no variant has been noted and the reading in the text represents the readings of the manuscripts. Any variant from the edited text has been indicated in the apparatus, even the most evident of

¹⁶⁰ Of the metrical variations allowed in the AV is needed. It is surprising that 100 + years after the edition of the ŚS by Whitney, no scholar has taken on this task. Instead, we continue to be guided by *ad hoc* statements about the lower quality of AV meter.

¹⁶¹ A catalectic verse is a dimeter verse with a normal dimeter rhythm that has lost its last syllable.

¹⁶² An acephalic verse is one where the first syllable has been lost.

scribal errors (i.e., m ~ s), errors due to sandhi, and variant punctuation. I have chosen this apparatus, against Zehnder's and Griffith's choice of a "positive" apparatus,¹⁶³ because it is less cumbersome to future users of this edition. The presentation of the text and variants independently of discussion allows the text to be better understood and studied.¹⁶⁴

The translation of the text is a literal one. It has not been my intention either to reproduce scripture or to provide a linguistically-oriented translation. In the very act of translating, I have interpreted the text. However, I hope to have made such interpretations within the context of grammar, and what we know about Vedic culture, in particular early Vedic culture of the Mantra-period.

All relevant discussion of the edited text and translation is found in the Notes. The notes provide information on variant readings, metrical problems, and points of grammar, as well as contextual. The notes are keyed to the appropriate verse in the edition and are presented with variants first, followed by metrical notes, grammatical discussion, and lastly contextual notes. Individual words or phrases under discussion are bolded. The notes to the translation aim to provide

¹⁶³ See West (1973: 86-88).

¹⁶⁴ With West (1973: 7-9), I agree that the value of critical edition is not whether it establishes a text as "the text" forever, but, rather, the questions that it can bring out of its future users. In separating the text and variants from the notes, the text is left free of additional commentary for "new eyes and minds" to examine new problems as well as old unresolved ones.

the specialist and non-specialist reader alike with background and discussion of some important term and concepts presented in the text. References have been made to relevant scholarship.

G *Sigla and Editorial Marks*

Sigla

B _T	Barret's reading of Kā.
Bh	Bhattacharya (1997) edition of the PS.
Gu _c	Photocopy of a manuscript from Guhiapal.
Kā	The Kashmirian birch-bark manuscript.
Mā _{1c}	Photocopy of a manuscript from Mākanda, used by Bhattacharya.
Ma _{2c}	Photocopy of a manuscript from Mahantipur, used by Bhattacharya.
NU	Edited text of the Nīlarudra Upaniṣad
Pa _c	Photocopy of a manuscript from Parikula.
ŚS	Śaunaka Saṃhitā, as edited by Roth and Whitney
ŚS _{SPP}	Śaunaka Saṃhitā, as edited by Śaṅkar Pāṇḍuraṅ Pandit

Editorial Marks

?	Denotes illegible akṣara-s, either in part or entirely. The number of ? attempts to approximate the number of illegible akṣara-s. ? followed by a vowel indicates that the consonant portion of the akṣara was illegible. ? following a consonant indicates that the vowel portion of the akṣara could not be determined.
(←)	Indicates a marginal scribal correction.
+	Reading in the archetype, *G, based on manuscript evidence, which has been established based on paleographic developments, phonetics, or grammar.
*	Reading restored beyond the reconstructed reading of the archetype, *G.

•	Marks a syllabic rest in the meter of the verse.
om.	The word or sign is not found in the specified manuscript.
[text]	Text contained within square brackets has been abbreviated in the manuscripts, indicating that the full text was provided earlier in the same hymn or elsewhere in the saṃhitā. For the purpose of presenting the complete text of the PS, I have decided not to abbreviate repeated. [text] have also been used in the translation to indicate abbreviated text.
<text>	Indicates text that is not in the manuscripts and would not be found in the archetype, but has been inserted in order to show the sandhi of the archetype.
(text)	In the translation, text contained in parenthesis has been added to make the translation smoother. It does not represent text that is part of the archetype.
Subscript, small type (a, i, u, etc.)	Metrically restored syllables.
Superscript, small type (^a , ⁱ , ^u , etc.)	Metrically deleted syllables.
<u>Underlined text:</u>	Corrupt text that cannot be convincingly reconstructed for one archetype or an emendation that would lead to a senseless or uncertain reading. The translations of these readings have also been underlined even when a proposed emendation – no in the edited text – has been translated.

¹ om̐ antarhitam̐ me bṛhad ² antarikṣam̐ antarhitāḥ ³ parvatā ⁴ agnayo ⁵ me ⁶ mā- -eṣām ⁷ rādhīy abhicāra ⁸ eṣa ⁹ pratyag ¹⁰ enān ¹¹ pratisareṇa hanmi 1 ¹²	11-11 11-11
¹³ tapahśramāv ¹⁴ antarau ¹⁵ mat ¹⁶ + paritām ¹⁷ ¹⁸ brahmayajñam antaram̐ mad dadhāmi ¹⁹ [mā- -eṣām rādhīy abhicāra eṣa pratyag enān\ pratisareṇa hanmi] 2	11-11 11-11

¹ = PSK 13.12

² Mā_{1c}: bṛhahad

³ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: antarhitāḥ

⁴ Ma_{2c}: parvatātā-

⁵ Ma_{2c}: -agnayo

⁶ Gu_c: unreadable

⁷ Kā: mahiṣām

⁸ Kā: avacāra; Mā_{1c}: avicāra

⁹ Kā: eṣāt

¹⁰ Kā: pratyak; Pa_c: pratyak\

¹¹ Kā: enām

¹² Kā: |

¹³ = PSK 13.12.2a

¹⁴ Kā: tapasvamāv

¹⁵ Kā: antaro

¹⁶ Kā: mad

¹⁷ Kā: bhavātho; Mā_{1c}: pacitām; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: paritām

¹⁸ Kā: om. 13.1.2b

¹⁹ Mā_{1c}: dadhami

²⁰agnīṣomāv²¹ antarau mad²² bhavātho | ²³divaṃ varma · pṛthivīm
ca kṛṇve²⁴ |²⁵ 11-10

[m_a-eṣāṃ rādh_iy abhicāra eṣa | pratyag enān\ pratisareṇa
hanmi] ||3|| 11-11

²⁶antarhitam me²⁷ sāma²⁸ prastutam²⁹ | antarhitah³⁰ parameṣṭhī³¹
prajāpatiḥ |³² 10-12

[m_a-eṣāṃ rādh_iy abhicāra eṣa | pratyag enān\ pratisareṇa
hanmi] ||4|| 11-11

²⁰ Kā: om. 13.2.3a

²¹ Pa_c, Gu_c: agnīpomāv

²² Pa_c: mad\

²³ = PSK 13.12.2b

²⁴ Kā: kṛṇvahe

²⁵ Kā: z

²⁶ = PSK 13.12.3

²⁷ Pa_c: spa

²⁸ Kā: māma

²⁹ Kā: prasthitam; Mā_{1c}: prastutem

³⁰ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: antarhitah

³¹ Ma_{2c}: parameṣṭhvī (← ṣṭhī)

³² Kā: om

³³ antarhitā ³⁴ sarparājñī ³⁵ virāṇ ³⁶ me ³⁷ antarhitah ³⁸ puruṣo ³⁹ medh _i yo me ⁴⁰	11-11
[m _a - .eṣāṃ rādh _i y abhicāra eṣa pratyag enān\ pratisareṇa hanmi] 5	11-11
⁴¹ antarhitā ⁴² me ṣaḍ ⁴³ urvīs ⁴⁴ sadhrīcīr ⁴⁵ antarhitās ⁴⁶ sadh _i yā apt _i yā ⁴⁷ me ⁴⁸	11-11
[m _a - .eṣāṃ rādh _i y abhicāra eṣa pratyag enān\ pratisareṇa hanmi] 6	11-11

³³ = PSK 13.1.4

³⁴ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: antarhitā

³⁵ Kā: sarparājñō; Ma_{2c}: marparājñā; Pa_c, Gu_c: sarparājñā

³⁶ Gu_c: virām

³⁷ Gu_c: ne

³⁸ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Gu_c: 'ntarhitah; Pa_c: antarhitah

³⁹ Mā_{1c}, Gu_c: puruṣo; Ma_{2c}: p?ruṣo

⁴⁰ Ka: om.

⁴¹ = PSK 13.12.5

⁴² Kā: antarhitah

⁴³ Gu_c: ṣa

⁴⁴ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: urvīh

⁴⁵ Kā: sadhracīr; Ma_{2c}, Gu_c: sadhrācīr; Pa_c: sadhrācīh

⁴⁶ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: antarhitah

⁴⁷ Kā: papatā

⁴⁸ Kā: z

⁴⁹[⁺antarhitā] ma rṣayah⁵⁰ pracetaso⁵¹ | antarhitas⁵² sūriyo
mātariśvā⁵³ |⁵⁴ 11-11

[mā- -eṣāṃ rādhīy abhicāra eṣa | pratyag enān\ pratisareṇa
hanmi] ||7|| 11-11

⁵⁵antarhitā me⁵⁶ + nadyas⁵⁷ syandamānā⁵⁸ [|] antarhitā oṣadhīḥ⁵⁹
puṣpiṇīr me | 11-11

[mā- -eṣāṃ rādhīy abhicāra eṣa | pratyag enān\ pratisareṇa
hanmi] ||8|| 11-11

⁴⁹ = PSK 13.12.6

⁵⁰ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: maharṣayah

⁵¹ Kā: pracītasō

⁵² Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: antahitah

⁵³ Kā: mātariśyā

⁵⁴ Kā: om.

⁵⁵ = PSK 13.1.7

⁵⁶ Ka: om.

⁵⁷ Kā: nadhyah; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}: nadhyah; Pa_c, Gu_c: nadāh

⁵⁸ Kā: syandamānān; Pa_c, Gu_c: syandamānaṃ

⁵⁹ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: oṣadhīḥ

⁶⁰antarhitāḥ⁶¹ paśavaḥ⁶² +kakṣiyāḥ⁶³ me | antarhitam⁶⁴ · vayo yat⁶⁵
patatri⁶⁶ | 11-10

[mā- -eṣām rādhīy abhicāra eṣa | pratyag enān\ pratisareṇa
hanmi] ||9|| 11-11

⁶⁷antarhitā ma⁶⁸ iṣavo⁶⁹ brāhmaṇānām⁷⁰ | antarhitā⁷¹ +vanaspatayas⁷²
samulāḥ⁷³ | 12-12

[mā- -eṣām rādhīy abhicāra eṣa | pratyag enān\ pratisareṇa
hanmi] ||10|| 11-11

⁶⁰ = PSk 13.12.8

⁶¹ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: antarhitāḥ

⁶² Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: paśavaḥ

⁶³ Kā: kakṣā; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: kakṣpā

⁶⁴ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Gu_c: 'ntarhitam

⁶⁵ Pa_c: yat\

⁶⁶ Kā: patattri

⁶⁷ = PSK 13.12.9

⁶⁸ Kā: sa

⁶⁹ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: iṣavo

⁷⁰ Kā: vrāhmaṇānām

⁷¹ Mā_{1c}: antarhitā me

⁷² Kā: vanaspataya; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: vanaspatayaḥ

⁷³ Kā: myalā

¹antarhitā devatālpāḥ² puro me | antarhitā³ jagatī chandasām⁴
me | 11-11

[mā- -eṣām rādhīy abhicāra eṣa | pratyag enān\ pratisareṇa
hanmi] ||1|| 11-11

⁵antarhitā me samudrā dvādaśa | antarhitā⁶ -auṣasī⁶ tārakā me | 11-11

[mā- -eṣām rādhīy abhicāra eṣa | pratyag enān\ pratisareṇa
hanmi] ||2|| 11-11

¹ = PSK 13.12.10

² Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c : devatālpāḥ

³ Kā: ntarhitā; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: 'ntarhitā

⁴ Kā: śchandasān; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: chandasām

⁵ = PSK 13.12.12

⁶ Kā: me ntarhitā uṣasī; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: antarhitaṣasī

⁷ antarhitā agnayo dhiṣṇīyā ⁸ me antarhitā ⁹ ṛtava ¹⁰ ārtavā ¹¹ me	11-11
[mā- -eṣāṃ rādhīy abhicāra eṣa pratyag enān\ pratisareṇa hanmi] 3	11-11
¹² antarhitā me pradiśaś catasro ¹³ antar ¹⁴ bhūtam ¹⁵ uta ¹⁶ bhavyaṃ ¹⁷ dadhe ¹⁸ [']haṃ ¹⁹ ²⁰	11-11
mā- -eṣāṃ ²¹ rādhīy abhicāra ²² eṣa ²³ pratyag ²⁴ enān\ ²⁵ pratisareṇa ²⁶ hanmi 4	11-11

⁷ = PSK 13.12.11

⁸ Kā: dhiṣṇīyā; Ma_{2c}: dh?s????

⁹ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Gu_c: 'ntarhitā

¹⁰ Kā: ṛtavā-; Ma_{2c}: rutava

¹¹ Kā: -ārtavā; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: ārttavā

¹² = PSK 13.12.13

¹³ Kā: catasra

¹⁴ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}: 'ntar

¹⁵ Kā: bhūta

¹⁶ Kā: om.

¹⁷ Kā: havyaṃ

¹⁸ Kā: cade

¹⁹ Kā: yaṃ

²⁰ Kā: om.

²¹ Kā: mahiṣāṃ

²² Kā; avacāra

²³ Kā: eṣat

²⁴ Kā, Pa_c: pratyak

²⁵ Kā: enām; Ma_{2c}: e??n; Pa_c, Gu_c: enāna

²⁶ Ma_{2c}: pratisaraNa

²⁷hanmi te [']ham kṛtaṃ havir | yo²⁸ me ghoram acikṛtaḥ²⁹ | 8-8
⁺apāñcau³⁰ ta³¹ ubhau bāhū | api nahyām_iy³² āsiyaṃ ||5||³³ 8-8

³⁴api nahyāmi³⁵ te bāhū | api nahyām_iy³⁶ āsiyaṃ | 8-8
 agner devasya manyunā³⁷ | tena te vadhiṣaṃ³⁸ havir | 8-8
 yo me ghoram³⁹ acikṛtaḥ⁴⁰ ||6|| 8

²⁷ = PSK 13.13.1

²⁸ Kā: ye

²⁹ Ma_{2c}: ?????taḥ; Mā_{1c} Pa_c: acikṛpaḥ

³⁰ Kā: apāñcyo; Mā_{1c} Ma_{2c} Pa_c Gu_c: apañcau

³¹ Kā: tau

³² Kā: śyāsy

³³ Kā: |

³⁴ = PSK 13.13.2

³⁵ Kā: niṣyāsi

³⁶ Kā: nihyāmy

³⁷ Kā: manyamānā

³⁸ Kā: varṣam

³⁹ Kā: ghomaram; Gu_c: ghorram

⁴⁰ Kā: adikṛtaḥ; Mā_{1c}: acikṛpaḥ

¹ uditaś ² śatayojanam ³ indro vartayate ⁴ ratham ⁵	8-8
sāyakam̐ kṣuravartamānam ⁶ aher jātāni ⁷ jambhayan ⁸ 1	9-8
⁹ dṛḍhāsa ¹⁰ āsann ¹¹ ahayo ¹² hatā udarasarpīṇaḥ ¹³ ¹⁴	8-8
pucham ¹⁵ *udveṣṭayanta<ś> ¹⁶ ś _u vā ¹⁷ piṇḍam adann ¹⁸ iva ¹⁹ 2	7-8

¹ = PSK 13.13.3

² Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: uditah

³ Gu_c: śatayojanam̐

⁴ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: varttayate

⁵ Kā: om.

⁶ Kā: kṣuravantam̐nim; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}: kṣuravarttamānam;
Pa_c, Gu_c: yaravarttamānam; Bh: kṣuravartamānam

⁷ Gu_c: jātoni

⁸ Kā: jambaya

⁹ = PSK 13.13.4

¹⁰ Kā: dṛḍhā

¹¹ Kā: om.

¹² Kā: śentyāyanm̐

¹³ Kā: udarasarpīṇaḥ; Pa_c: udasarpīṇaḥ

¹⁴ Kā: om.

¹⁵ Kā: praśchas

¹⁶ Kā: idveṣṭrāyantas; Mā_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: idveṣvāyanta; Ma₂: idveṣāyanta

¹⁷ Kā: svā

¹⁸ Kā: adan

¹⁹ Kā: yuva

²⁰pāpaka²¹ pāparūpaka²² | kiṃ me sakḥāyam ātudaḥ²³ | 8-8
na mām²⁴ apaśya²⁵ ²⁶āgatām²⁷ | ⁺satīnām²⁸ viśadūṣaṇam²⁹ ||3|| 8-8

³⁰ahijambhās³¹ carāmasi | muṣkābarho³² gavām iva |³³ 8-8
⁺pīlūn³⁴ upasvajam³⁵ hanmi³⁶ | upastambhe pṛdāk_uvaṃ ||4|| 8-8

²⁰ = PSK 13.13.5

²¹ Pa_c, Gu_c: pāpakṛ

²² Mā_{1c}, Gu_c: pāparpaka

²³ Kā: āturā

²⁴ Kā: māmī

²⁵ Kā: paśyā-

²⁶ After āga- the text continues in PSK 11.6.11

²⁷ Kā: -āga- -tām; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: āgatām

²⁸ Kā: śacī; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: satīnām

²⁹ Kā viśadūṣaṇam; Mā_{1c}, Gu_c, Pa_c: viśadūṣaṇam; Ma_{2c}: viśaduṣaṇam

³⁰ = PSK 11.7.1

³¹ Pa_c, Gu_c: ahijambhās

³² Kā: muṣkāvarho; Mā_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: muṣkābarho; Bh: muṣkāvaruho

³³ Kā: om.

³⁴ Kā: kīlā; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: pīlū; Bh: ⁺pīlū

³⁵ Kā: upasṛjam

³⁶ Kā: harmi; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}: hanma

³⁷ye ke cedam ⁺apāsaṣur³⁸ | ³⁹vātasyeva pṛthag yataḥ | 8-8
aṅgo aṇu sarve brūt_a. | aheyam arasaṃ viśaṃ⁴⁰ ||5|| 8-8

⁴¹triddhisi⁴² te niśadanaṃ⁴³ || tripuṣi⁴⁴ pāpa te gr̥haḥ |⁴⁵ 8-8
achinnaṃ⁴⁶ t_uvā vāto hanty⁴⁷ | achinnaṃ⁴⁸ abhi⁴⁹ varṣati⁵⁰ ||6||⁵¹ 8-8

³⁷ = PSK 11.7.2

³⁸ Kā: āpāśveṣur; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: upāsaṣur

³⁹ Kā: om. rest of the verse after °vā

⁴⁰ Ma_{2c}: viśaṃ

⁴¹ = PSK 11.7.2-3

⁴² Kā: tr̥ṇdam; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: triddhisi; Bh: tr̥ndhisi

⁴³ Kā: niśadalaṃ

⁴⁴ Kā: nṛpaśrī; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: tripuṣi; Bh: tripuṣi

⁴⁵ Kā: om.

⁴⁶ Kā: aśchinnam; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: achannam

⁴⁷ Kā: haṃtv; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: haṃty

⁴⁸ Kā: aśchinnam; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: achannam

⁴⁹ Mā_{1c}: aha

⁵⁰ Kā: varṣatu

⁵¹ Kā: |

⁵²nākulena⁵³ bheṣajena | tenāhīn\ ⁵⁴jambhayāmasi⁵⁵ | 8-8
⁵⁶māmścatur⁵⁶ nāma⁵⁷ + vṛkṣakas⁵⁸ | sa⁵⁹ enān\ ⁶⁰arasān\ ⁶¹akaḥ⁶² ||7|| 8-8

⁶³asitāhe⁶⁴ [']rasam⁶⁵ viṣam⁶⁶ | ubhayos⁶⁷ s_uvajasya⁶⁸ ca | 8-8
 abhikrandasya⁶⁹ yā⁷⁰ ropīs | tā⁷¹ ito 'panayāmasi⁷² ||8||⁷³ 8-8

⁵² = PSK 11.7.3

⁵³ Kā: ākulena

⁵⁴ Kā: tenāhīm; B_T: tenāhīn; Mā_{1c}: tenāhīna

⁵⁵ Pa_c: jambhayāsi

⁵⁶ Kā: saścet; Mā_{1c} Ma_{2c} Pa_c Gu_c: māścatur

⁵⁷ Kā: tannām

⁵⁸ Kā: akṣakaḥ; Mā_{1c} Ma_{2c} Pa_c Gu_c: vṛkṣakaḥ

⁵⁹ Kā: śa

⁶⁰ Kā: yanāmn; B_T: yanānn

⁶¹ Kā: arasam; B_T: arasān

⁶² Kā: aka

⁶³ = PSK 11.7.4

⁶⁴ Kā: asitāha

⁶⁵ Kā: ram; Mā_{1c}: rasam; Ma_{2c}: radam; Pa_c Gu_c: rahaṃ

⁶⁶ Mā_{1c}: viṣamm

⁶⁷ Mā_{1c} Ma_{2c} Pa_c Gu_c: ubhayoḥ

⁶⁸ Mā_{1c} Ma_{2c} Pa_c Gu_c: śitasya

⁶⁹ Kā: adhikrasya

⁷⁰ Kā: ya

⁷¹ Kā: tāy

⁷² Kā: vinayāmasi

⁷³ Kā: |

⁷⁴idam paidvo ajāyat⁷⁵ | idam⁷⁶ asya vivartanam⁷⁷ | 8-8
idam kanikrado⁷⁸ mṛgo⁷⁹ | viṣam⁸⁰ eti⁸¹ parābhavam⁸² ||9|| 8-8

⁸³viṣucīnā⁸⁴ vātā + vāntu⁸⁵ | viśvag⁸⁶ varṣantu vṛṣṭayah | 8-8
viśvag⁸⁷ + viṣam⁸⁸ pra meha tvam⁸⁹ | śatadhāra ivāvataḥ⁹⁰ ||10|| 8-8

⁷⁴ = PSK 11.7.5

⁷⁵ Kā: ajāyate

⁷⁶ Kā: idam

⁷⁷ Mā_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: piparttanam; Ma_{2c}: piparttanām

⁷⁸ Mā_{1c}: vanikrado

⁷⁹ Kā: mago

⁸⁰ Kā: dviṣate

⁸¹ Kā: tu

⁸² Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: parābhavan

⁸³ = PSK 11.7.6

⁸⁴ Kā: viṣucīnām; Pa_c, Gu_c: viṣvacīna

⁸⁵ Kā: vahaṃtu; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: vanta

⁸⁶ Kā: viśvak; Pā_c: viśvak; Gu_c: viśvag

⁸⁷ Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: viśvag

⁸⁸ Kā, Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Gu_c: viṣa; Pa_c: viśva

⁸⁹ Pa_c: va

⁹⁰ Pa_c, Gu_c: ivāvartah

¹nir ito² haritasrajam³ | indro⁴ vartayate⁵ ratham | 8-8
tenāpi lihna⁶ iyate⁷ | ⁺nipimṣann⁸ ahināma⁹naḥ ||1||¹⁰ 8-8

¹¹yenendra dasyūn¹² niramṛṇo¹³ | yena¹⁴ vṛtram¹⁵
parābhinaḥ |¹⁶ 9-8
tenā śatakrato t_uvam | aher jātāni jambhaya¹⁷ ||2||¹⁸ 8-8

¹ = PSK 11.7.7

² Kā: ataṃ; Gu_c: ṛto

³ Kā: haritassrja

⁴ Kā: mittro

⁵ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: varttayate

⁶ Kā: lalh

⁷ Kā: -iyate; Mā_{1c}, Ma_c, Pa_c, Gu_c: iyate

⁸ Kā: napiyūṣaṃn; Mā_{1c}: nipisaṃn; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: nipimṣaṃn

⁹ Kā: ahināpinaḥ; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: ahināmanaḥ

¹⁰ Kā: |

¹¹ = PSK 11.7.8

¹² Kā: jasya

¹³ Kā: yenanṛmṇo; Pa_c, Gu_c: niramṛnor

¹⁴ Ma_{2c}: ye??

¹⁵ Kā: vṛttram

¹⁶ Kā: om.

¹⁷ Ma_{2c}: ??mbhaya

¹⁸ Kā: zz

¹⁹ pratyamodata ²⁰ pr̥thivī prati dyauḥ ²¹ prati sūrīyah ²²	8-8
paid _u vo yad aśvamātā ²³ krandenāhīn apāvapat\ 3 ²⁴	8-8
²⁵ yadā paidvo ²⁶ aśvamātā ²⁷ krandenāhīn apāvapat\	8-8
⁺ rajju<ṣ> ²⁸ śma ²⁹ datvati ³⁰ śere ³¹ pūyantīm ³² pr̥thivīm anu 4	8-8

¹⁹ = PSK 11.7.9

²⁰ Kā: pratyamodataḥ

²¹ Mā_{1c}, Ma_c, Pa_c, Gu_c: dyauḥ

²² Kā: om.

²³ Mā_{1c}: asvamātā

²⁴ Kā: om.

²⁵ = PSK 11.7.9; Kā: om. ab

²⁶ Mā_{1c}: paidve

²⁷ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: 'śvmāta

²⁸ Kā: rajjuś; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: rājju

²⁹ Kā: ca

³⁰ Kā: darśati; Pa_c: dahati

³¹ Mā_{1c}, Ma_c, Pa_c, Gu_c: śyere

³² Kā: payantiḥ

³³nāpo³⁴ jīryanti³⁵ nāmṛtaṃ³⁶ | nendraṇī³⁷ *vidhavā³⁸ bhavat₁ |³⁹ 8-8
na tvām āste [']bhiṣad⁴⁰ viṣam⁴¹ | aśmānam⁴² iva sāyakam ||5|| 8-8

⁴³indrāgnī mitrāvaruṇā⁴⁴ | tvaṣṭāram aditiṃ bhagaṃ | 8-8
huve⁴⁵ [']ham⁴⁶ arvaṃtaṃ⁴⁷ paidvaṃ | mā⁴⁸ me⁴⁹ [']yam⁵⁰ 8-8
puruṣo⁵¹ ṛṣat₁⁵² ||6||⁵³

³³ = PSK 11.7.10

³⁴ Kā: āpo

³⁵ Kā: jīryante

³⁶ Kā: nāmṛta

³⁷ Ma_{ac}: maindraṇī

³⁸ Ka, Ma_{ac}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: avidhava

³⁹ Kā: om.

⁴⁰ Kā: viśvag; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}: bhiṣad

⁴¹ Pa_c, Gu_c: om.

⁴² Kā: akhānam; Mā_{1c}: aśmānam

⁴³ = PSK 11.7.11

⁴⁴ Kā: mitrāvaruṇās; Mā_{1c}, Pa_c: mitravaruṇā

⁴⁵ Kā: hva

⁴⁶ Kā: yam

⁴⁷ Kā: arvaṃtaṃ

⁴⁸ Mā_{1c}: mya; Ma_c, Pa_c, Gu_c: myā

⁴⁹ Kā: mā

⁵⁰ Kā: nayam

⁵¹ Mā_{1c}, Pa_c: purṣo

⁵² Kā: viṣat₁; Mā_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: ṛṣat₁

⁵³ Kā: om.

⁵⁴sadyo jāto 'kanikradat_\⁵⁵ | ⁵⁶sol_uvo⁵⁷ v_iyadhūnuta⁵⁸ |⁵⁹ 8-8
krandenāśvasya⁶⁰ vājino | _ahanyantāhayaḥ⁶¹ pṛthak_\ ||7||⁶² 8-8

⁵⁴ = PSK 11.7.12

⁵⁵ Kā: kanikradat_\

⁵⁶ Kā: |

⁵⁷ Ma_{2c}, Gu_c: solvor

⁵⁸ Kā: dyandhūnataḥ; Gu_c: vyadhunuta

⁵⁹ Kā: om.

⁶⁰ Pa_c, Gu_c: krandenāśvasyaṃ

⁶¹ Kā: hanyantvāhaya; Mā_{1c}, Ma_c, Pa_c, Gu_c: hayantāhayaḥ

⁶² Kā: z zz ity atharvaṇikapaippalādayāś śākhāyaṃ ekādaśo dhyāyas samāptaḥ

zz

¹ imaṃ ² stomam arhate jātavedase ³ ratham iva saṃ ⁴ mahemā ⁵ manīṣayā ⁶ ⁷	12-12
bhadrā ⁸ hi naḥ ⁹ pramatir asya saṃsad _i y ¹⁰ agne sakhye ¹¹ mā riṣāmā vayaṃ ¹² tava 1 ¹³	12-12
¹⁴ yasmai t _u vam ⁺ āyajase ¹⁵ sa ¹⁶ sādhat _i y ¹⁷ anarvā ¹⁸ kṣeti ¹⁹ dadhate ²⁰ suvīryaṃ ²¹	12-12
sa ²² tūtāva ²³ nainam aśnot _i y aṃhatir agne ²⁴ [sakhye mā riṣāmā vayaṃ tava] 2	12-12

¹ = PSK 12.1.1

² Kā: atha dvādaśomārkaṇḍa atharvaṇadhyāyaṃ likhyate zz om̐ namo nārāya
ṇāya z z om̐ imaṃ

³ Kā: jatabhavedase

⁴ Kā: san

⁵ Kā: dahemā

⁶ Kā: sanikayāḥ (kale)

⁷ Kā: folio break

⁸ Pa_c, Gu_c: bhadṛābhadrā

⁹ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: Gu_c: naḥ

¹⁰ Kā: saṃsam

¹¹ Kā: saṃkhye; Pa_c: om.

¹² Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: vayan

¹³ Kā: |

¹⁴ = PSK 12.1.2

¹⁵ Kā: ahurbhajase; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: Gu_c: āyajasase

¹⁶ Kā: om.

¹⁷ Kā: ādity

¹⁸ Kā: anarvan_i

¹⁹ Kā: kṣota

²⁰ Kā: tadate; Pa_c: didhate

²¹ Kā: stuvīryaṃ

²² Pa_c: su

²³ Kā, Pa_c: bhūtāva; Gu_c: bhūtāda

²⁴ Kā: agne z z; Mā_{1c}: 'gne

²⁵ bharāmedhmanṁ kṛṇavāmā ²⁶ havīmṣi te citayantaḥ ²⁷ parvaṇā-parvaṇā vayanṁ ²⁸	12-12
jīvātave ²⁹ prataramṁ sādhasyā ³⁰ dhiyo ³¹ agne ³² [sakhye mā riṣāmā vayanṁ tava] 3	12-12
³³ śakema ³⁴ tvā ³⁵ samidhamṁ ³⁶ sādhasyā ³⁷ dhiyas t _u ve ³⁸ devā havir adant _y ³⁹ ahutaṁ ⁴⁰ ⁴¹	12-12
tvam ādityān ⁴² ā vaha tān ⁴³ h _i y ⁴⁴ uśmas _y ⁴⁵ agne ⁴⁶ [sakhye mā riṣāmā vayanṁ tava] 4	12-12

²⁵ = PSK 12.1.3

²⁶ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: kṛṇuvāmā

²⁷ Kā: jite antaḥ; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: Gu_c: citayantaḥ

²⁸ Kā: om.

²⁹ Kā: jīvātava

³⁰ Kā: mādhasyā

³¹ Kā: dayo

³² Kā: gne z

³³ = PSK 12.1.4

³⁴ Kā: sasema

³⁵ Kā: tvām

³⁶ Kā: samidaṁ

³⁷ Kā: sādhasyā

³⁸ Kā: te; Gu_c: sve

³⁹ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: idamty

⁴⁰ Mā_{1c}: ahutaṁ; Ma_{2c}: āhutaṁ; Pa_c: ahṛtam

⁴¹ Kā: om.

⁴² Mā_{1c}, Ma_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: ādityāṁ

⁴³ Kā: tā

⁴⁴ Kā: dhy

⁴⁵ Kā: akṣmasy; Mā_{1c}: ūsmasy; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: uśmasy

⁴⁶ Kā: āgne z

⁴⁷ tvam adhvaryur ⁴⁸ uta ⁴⁹ hotāsi pūrvīyaḥ ⁵⁰ praśāstā ⁵¹ potā ⁵² januṣā purohitāḥ ⁵³	12-12
viśvā vidvān ⁵⁴ ārtvijyā ⁵⁵ dhīra puṣyasīy ⁵⁶ agne ⁵⁷ [sakhye mā riṣāmā vyaṃ tava] 5	12-12
⁵⁸ diśāṃ gopā ⁵⁹ asya ⁶⁰ caranti ⁶¹ jantavo dvipāc ⁶² ca yad uta catuṣpad aktubhiḥ ⁶³	12-12
citraḥ ⁶⁴ praketa uṣaso mahān ⁶⁵ asīy ⁶⁶ agne ⁶⁷ [sakhye mā riṣāmā vyaṃ tava] 6	12-12

⁴⁷ = PSK 12.1.5

⁴⁸ Mā_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: adhvaryu

⁴⁹ Mā_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: ṛta

⁵⁰ Kā, Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: Gu_c: pūrvīyaḥ

⁵¹ Ma_{2c}: prasāstā

⁵² Kā: potār

⁵³ Kā: purohitāḥ

⁵⁴ Kā: vidvāṃ

⁵⁵ Kā: āhartvijyā; Gu_c: atvirjyā

⁵⁶ Pa_c, Gu_c: ṣvasya

⁵⁷ Kā: āgne z

⁵⁸ = PSK 12.1.6

⁵⁹ Kā: gopā-

⁶⁰ Kā: -asya

⁶¹ Kā: jarantu

⁶² Kā: dvipāś; Gu₂: dhipāc

⁶³ Kā: om.

⁶⁴ Kā: citraḥ; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: citra

⁶⁵ Kā: mahān; Ma_{2c}: ma? añ; Gu_c: matyān

⁶⁶ Kā: asya-

⁶⁷ Kā: -āgne |

⁶⁸ yo viśvatas ⁶⁹ supratikas ⁷⁰ sadṛñṇ ⁷¹ asi dūre cit ⁷² saṃ ⁷³ talid ⁷⁴ ivāti ⁷⁵ rocase ⁷⁶	12-12
rātryāś cid ⁷⁷ andho ⁷⁸ ati deva paśyas; y ⁷⁹ agne ⁸⁰ [sakhye mā riṣāmā vyaṃ tava] 7	12-12
⁸¹ pūrvo ⁸² devā bhavatu sunvato ⁸³ ratho a _{smākaṃ śaṃso abhiy⁸⁴ astu dūḍhiyah ⁸⁵}	12-12
tad ā jānīta ⁸⁶ -u ⁸⁶ puṣyata ⁸⁷ vaco ⁸⁸ agne ⁸⁹ [sakhye mā riṣāmā vyaṃ tava] 8	12-12

⁶⁸ = PSK 12.1.7

⁶⁹ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: Gu_c: viśvataḥ

⁷⁰ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: Gu_c: supratikaḥ

⁷¹ Kā: sadruḥ; Pa_c, Gu_c: sadṛñṇ

⁷² Kā: diś

⁷³ Kā: chan

⁷⁴ Kā: talid; Mā_{1c}: taḷad; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: tad

⁷⁵ Kā: ivāśi

⁷⁶ Kā: rocate

⁷⁷ Kā: cat

⁷⁸ Kā: anvo

⁷⁹ Kā: paśyasya-; Pa_c, Gu_c: pasmasya

⁸⁰ Kā: -agne |

⁸¹ = PSK 12.1.8; Pa_c: om.

⁸² Kā: pūrve

⁸³ Kā: muṣvato

⁸⁴ Kā: any; Pa_c: om. 13.5.8ab

⁸⁵ Kā: om.

⁸⁶ Kā: jānīto u; Mā_{1c}: jānīto

⁸⁷ Gu_c: puṣpatā

⁸⁸ Kā: vato; Gu_c: va

⁸⁹ Kā: gne z

⁹⁰ vadhair ⁹¹ duḥśamsān ⁹² apa ⁹³ dūdh _i yo ⁹⁴ jahi ⁹⁵ dūre vā ye anti ⁹⁵ vā ke cid atrīṇaḥ ⁹⁶ ⁹⁷	12-12
athā ⁹⁸ yajñāya gr̥ṇate ⁹⁹ sugaṃ kṛdh _i y ¹⁰⁰ agne ¹⁰¹ [sakhye mā riṣāmā vayaṃ tava] 9	12-12
¹⁰² yad ayukthā ¹⁰³ aruṣā ¹⁰⁴ rohita ¹⁰⁵ rathe ¹⁰⁶ vātajūta vṛṣabhasyeva ¹⁰⁷ te ravaḥ ¹⁰⁸	12-12
ād ¹⁰⁹ invasi ¹¹⁰ vanino dhūmaketun _a - -agne ¹¹¹ [sakhye mā riṣāmā vayaṃ tava] 10	12-12

⁹⁰ = PSK 12.1.9; Pa_c: om.

⁹¹ Kā: vadhūn

⁹² Kā: duśamsān; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Gu_c: duḥśamsān\

⁹³ Kā: avi

⁹⁴ Gu_c: dū?yo

⁹⁵ Kā: aṃti

⁹⁶ Kā: attrīṇaḥ

⁹⁷ Kā: z

⁹⁸ Kā: adhā

⁹⁹ Kā: śṛṇute

¹⁰⁰ Kā: kṛṣy

¹⁰¹ Kā does not mark end of the stanza.

¹⁰² = PSK 12.1.10

¹⁰³ Kā: ukthan

¹⁰⁴ Kā pā; Mā_{1c}, Gu_c: arṣā

¹⁰⁵ Kā: rohito

¹⁰⁶ Pa_c: ratho

¹⁰⁷ Kā: ṛṣabhasyeva

¹⁰⁸ Kā: z

¹⁰⁹ Kā: yuj

¹¹⁰ Kā: invasti

¹¹¹ Kā: does not mark the end of the stanza

¹ adha svanād ² uta ⁺ bibhyuḥ ³ patattriṇo ⁴ drapsā ⁵ yat ⁶ te yavasādo v;̣yasthiran _\ ⁷ ⁸	12-12
sugam ⁹ tat te tāvakebhyo ¹⁰ rathebh;̣yo agne ¹¹ [sakhye mā riṣāmā vayam tava] 1	12-12
¹² t _u vam mitrasya ¹³ varuṇasya ¹⁴ *dhāyase ¹⁵ a _v vayātām ¹⁶ marutām ¹⁷ heḷo ¹⁸ adbhutaḥ ¹⁹	12-12
mṛlā su no bhūt _u v eṣām manah ²⁰ punar agne ²¹ [sakhye mā riṣāmā vayam tava] 2	12-12

¹ = PSK

² Kā: svanād

³ Kā: svidhyuḥ; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: bibhyuḥ

⁴ Kā: patattriṇo

⁵ Kā: dhrapsā

⁶ Kā: ya

⁷ Mā_{1c}: vyasthiraran_\

⁸ Kā: om.

⁹ Kā: suga

¹⁰ Kā: tāvakedyo

¹¹ Kā: gne z

¹² = PSK 12.1.12

¹³ Kā: mittrasya

¹⁴ Kā: varuṇa; Mā_{1c}, Gu_c: varṇasya; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: varunāsyā

¹⁵ Kā: dhāyasya; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: dhāsyā

¹⁶ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}: vajātām; Kā, Pa_c, Gu_c: vayātām

¹⁷ Mā_{1c}: maṛtām; Pa_c, Gu_c: maṛtām

¹⁸ Kā: helo

¹⁹ Kā: om.

²⁰ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Gu_c: manah; Pa_c: mana

²¹ Kā: agne z

²² devo ²³ devānām asi mitro ²⁴ adbhuto ²⁵ vasur vasūnām asi cāru ²⁶ adhva ²⁷	12-12
śarman ²⁸ sīyāma tava ²⁹ saprathastame ³⁰ agne ³¹ [sakhye mā riṣāmā vyaṃ tava] 3	12-12
³² tat te bhadraṃ yat samiddhas ³³ s _u ve ³⁴ dame ³⁵ somāhuto jarase ³⁶ mṛḍayattamaḥ ³⁷ ³⁸	12-12
dadāsi ³⁹ ratnaṃ ⁴⁰ draṇāṇā ⁴¹ ca dāśuṣe ⁴² agne ⁴³ sakhye mā riṣāmā vyaṃ tava 4	12-12

²² = PSK 12.1.13

²³ Kā: deve

²⁴ Kā: mittro

²⁵ Kā: adbhūto

²⁶ Kā: cā??? (broken off); Mā_{1c}: cār; Gu_c: carc

²⁷ Kā: ?dhvare

²⁸ Kā: śarman

²⁹ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: tama

³⁰ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: saḥprathastame

³¹ Kā: gne z

³² = PSK 12.1.14

³³ Kā: samiddha?; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: samiddhaḥ

³⁴ Kā: ??e

³⁵ Kā: ????

³⁶ Kā: rajase

³⁷ Kā: mṛḍayattasaḥ

³⁸ Kā: om.

³⁹ Kā: dadāsi

⁴⁰ Kā: ratma

⁴¹ Kā: draṇāṇaṃ

⁴² Gu_c: vāsuṣe

⁴³ Kā: agnes

⁴⁴ yasmai ⁴⁵ t _u vaṃ sudraṇi ⁴⁶ dadāsi ⁴⁷ so [']nāgāstvam ⁴⁸ adite sarvatātā ⁴⁹ ⁵⁰	11-11
yaṃ bhadreṇa śavasā ⁵¹ codayāsi prajāvanto ⁵² rādhasā ⁵³ te s _i yāma 5	11-11
sa tvam ⁵⁴ agne saubhagatvasya ⁵⁵ vidvān ⁵⁶ asmākam āyuh ⁵⁷ pra tireha deva	11-11
⁺ tvām ⁵⁸ no mitrō ⁵⁹ várūṇo ⁶⁰ māmahantām ⁶¹ ⁺ áditis ⁶² síndhuḥ ⁶³ pṛthivī ⁶⁴ utá ⁶⁵ dyaúḥ ⁶⁶ 6	11-11

⁴⁴ = PSK 12.1.15

⁴⁵ Kā: asmai

⁴⁶ Kā: sodraṇi

⁴⁷ Kā: dadhā

⁴⁸ Kā: nāgāsim; Ma_{2c}: nāgastyam; Pa_c, Gu_c: nāgāsvam

⁴⁹ Kā: sarvatāta

⁵⁰ Kā: om.

⁵¹ Kā: śavamā

⁵² Kā: prajāntau

⁵³ Kā: rādhasyā

⁵⁴ Kā: tv

⁵⁵ Pa_c: saubhagatasya

⁵⁶ Kā: vidvām; B_T: vidvān; Ma_{2c}, Gu_c: vidvān

⁵⁷ Mā_{1c}: āyu; Ma_{2c}, Gu_c: āyuh; Pa_c: ayuh

⁵⁸ Kā: tán; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: tvan

⁵⁹ Kā: mittrō

⁶⁰ Mā_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: varṇo; Ma_{2c}: varuṇo

⁶¹ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: māmahantām

⁶² Kā; aditis; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: aditiḥ

⁶³ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: síndhuḥ

⁶⁴ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: pṛthivī

⁶⁵ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: uta

⁶⁶ Kā, Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: dyauh

¹ kim ² indrasya parihitaṃ kim agneḥ ³ kiṃ viṣṇos tvaṣtur varuṇasya ⁴ vāsaḥ	11-11
bṛhaspater ⁵ uta ⁶ somasya +rājñah ⁷ kiṃ vasānā maruto ⁸ varṣayantu ⁹ 1	11-11
¹⁰ dhātu ¹¹ rudrasya ¹² kiṃ vāyor ¹³ vājinaṃ ¹⁴ vasanaṃ ¹⁵ mahat\	8-8
kiṃ pūṣa brahmaṇaspatir ¹⁶ viśve devāś ca bibhrati 2	8-8

¹ = PSK 13.14.1

² Gu_c: kam

³ Mā_c, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: agneḥ; Gu_c: agne

⁴ Mā_{1c}, Gu_c: varuṇasya

⁵ Kā: vṛhaspater; Mā_{1c}, Pa_c: bṛhaspate

⁶ Mā_{1c}, Pa_c: ṛta

⁷ Kā, Mā_c, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: rājñah

⁸ Mā_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: maruto

⁹ Kā: varṣantu

¹⁰ = PSK 13.14.2

¹¹ Kā: dhāto

¹² Mā_{1c}, Gu_c: ṛdrasya

¹³ Kā: vāyoḥ

¹⁴ Kā: vājinaṃ

¹⁵ Kā: vrajinam

¹⁶ Kā: vrahmaṇaspatir; Pa_c: brahmaṇaspatiḥ

¹⁷ kiṃ devānām ¹⁸ paridhānam samānam ¹⁹ yasminn ²⁰ eṣām sāṃmanasyam ²¹ babhūva ²²	11-11
kva rātrī ²³ niviśate ⁺ kvāhaḥ ²⁴ kvedam ²⁵ abhram ²⁶ bhavati yat ²⁷ sameti ²⁸ vyeti ²⁹ ca 3 ³⁰	11-12
³¹ katamenāpo divam ³² udvahanti ⁺ kas ³³ samena _{a-} -u _u dayanena ³⁴ netā ³⁵ ³⁶	11-11
vātasya ³⁷ tvā vidyutām ³⁸ ⁺ stanayitnor ³⁹ apām pṛchām _i y ⁴⁰ ayanān _i y ⁴¹ agneḥ ⁴² 4	11-11

¹⁷ = PSK 13.14.3

¹⁸ Kā: devadevānām

¹⁹ Pa_c, Gu_c: om.

²⁰ Kā: yassinn

²¹ Kā: sāṃnaḥsam

²² Kā: om.

²³ Kā: rātrī

²⁴ Kā: kvāha; Mā_c, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: kvāhaḥ

²⁵ Mā_c, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: kvetim

²⁶ Ma_{2c}: abhra

²⁷ Pa_c: yat_i

²⁸ Mā_c, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: samedi

²⁹ Kā: veti

³⁰ Kā: | z

³¹ = PSK 13.14.4

³² Ma_{2c}: divasum

³³ Kā: kasya; Mā_c, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: kaḥ

³⁴ Kā: tadannenetinena

³⁵ Kā: netām

³⁶ Kā: om.

³⁷ Ma_{2c}: vātasya; Pa_c, Gu_c: vatasya

³⁸ Kā: vidyatā; Mā_{1c}: vidyutām

³⁹ Kā: stanayannur; Mā_c: stana itnur; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: stanayitnur; Gu_c: stanayinur

⁴⁰ Kā: pṛśchamy

⁴¹ Kā: evāny; Ma_{2c}: ayanā??; Pa_c: ayayanān

⁴² Kā, Mā_{1c}: agne; Ma_{2c}: ????

⁴³ pr̥chāmi ⁴⁴ tvā pr̥satim ⁴⁵ rohiṇī ⁴⁶ ca vatsam pr̥chāmi ⁴⁷ saha mātaram ⁴⁸ tvām ⁴⁹ ⁵⁰	11-11
indram ⁵¹ tvānu ⁵² pr̥chāmi ⁵³ sākṣat ⁵⁴ sabhānam ca sabhāpatim 5	9-8
⁵⁵ ko vayasām adadhān ⁵⁶ nāmāni ⁵⁷ kaḥ ⁵⁸ paśūnām ⁺ kas ⁵⁹ sarpānam devajanā ya āsan ⁶⁰ ⁶¹	14-11
ko [']sya ⁶² jantor adadhād ⁶³ brūhi ⁶⁴ nas tat ⁶⁵ 6	11

⁴³ = PSK 13.14.5

⁴⁴ Kā: pr̥schāmi; Ma_{2c}: ??chāmi

⁴⁵ Kā: pr̥satiyam

⁴⁶ Kā: rohiṇīm

⁴⁷ Kā: pr̥schāmi

⁴⁸ Kā: mātaran

⁴⁹ Kā: tā; Pa_c: tvā

⁵⁰ Kā: om.

⁵¹ Gu_c: indra

⁵² Kā: tvāni

⁵³ Kā: pr̥schāmi

⁵⁴ Gu_c: sāyāt

⁵⁵ = PSK 13.14.6

⁵⁶ Kā: adadhām

⁵⁷ Mā_{1c}: nāmāni |

⁵⁸ Mā_c, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: kaḥ

⁵⁹ Kā, Mā_c, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: kaḥ

⁶⁰ Kā: sam

⁶¹ Kā: om.

⁶² Kā: syo

⁶³ Kā: ayadā; Pa_{1c}: adadhād

⁶⁴ Kā: vrūhi

⁶⁵ Kā: that

⁶⁶ kati rohā<s> ⁶⁷ s _u var ārohayanti ⁶⁸ yebhi ⁶⁹ rohito divam ⁷⁰ āruroha ⁷¹ ⁷²	11-11
⁺ rāṣṭrabhṛtaḥ ⁷³ kṣatrabhṛto ⁷⁴ vasubhṛto ⁷⁵ vasudānavo ⁷⁶ vasuyavaḥ ⁷⁷ 7	8-13
⁷⁸ kaś caturdhā ⁷⁹ vikramate ⁸⁰ mahitvā kaṃ ⁸¹ rakṣanti ⁸² kavayo ⁸³ a _a pramādam ⁸⁴ ⁸⁵	11-11
puruṣaṃ ⁸⁶ t _u vānu ⁸⁷ pṛchāmi ⁸⁸ sāksaṃ ⁸⁹ mṛtyor aṅgāni kati tāni vettha ⁹⁰ 8	11-11

⁶⁶ =PSK 13.14.7

⁶⁷ Kā: rohā; Mā_c, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: rohāḥ

⁶⁸ Kā: ārohanyanty

⁶⁹ Kā: eti; Mā_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: yebhi

⁷⁰ Kā: devam

⁷¹ Mā_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: āroha

⁷² Kā: om.

⁷³ Kā, Mā_c, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: rāṣṭrabhṛtaḥ; Gu_c: rāṣṭrabhutaḥ

⁷⁴ Pa_c: kṣetrabhṛto

⁷⁵ Pa_c: vasubhṛto

⁷⁶ Mā_{1c}: vasubhṛtau

⁷⁷ Kā: vasudīnavovasuyavaḥ

⁷⁸ = PSK 13.14.8

⁷⁹ Kā: cattavā; Mā_{1c}: carddhaturdhā; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: caturddha

⁸⁰ Pa_c: thikramate

⁸¹ Kā: ko

⁸² Kā: rakṣantu; Mā_{1c}: rakṣati

⁸³ Kā: kavo

⁸⁴ Kā: prasādam; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: 'pramākaṃ

⁸⁵ Kā: om.

⁸⁶ Mā_{1c}, Gu_c: puṛṣaṃ

⁸⁷ Kā: tvāni

⁸⁸ Kā: pṛśchami

⁸⁹ Kā: sāksaṃ

⁹⁰ Kā: vetthaḥ

⁹¹ yam ⁹² *śīśati ⁹³ vṛṣabhaś ⁹⁴ carṣaṇīnām ⁹⁵ indro vajram ahinā spardhamānaḥ ⁹⁶ ⁹⁷	11-11
yena vṛtram ⁹⁸ maghava sampipeṣa ⁹⁹ tam + naḥ ¹⁰⁰ pra brūhi ¹⁰¹ yadi ¹⁰² tam ¹⁰³ pravettha ¹⁰⁴ 9 ¹⁰⁵	11-11
¹⁰⁶⁺ kaḥ ¹⁰⁷ parvatānām ¹⁰⁸ adadhān ¹⁰⁹ nāmāni ko vanaspatīnām ¹¹⁰ adadhā ¹¹¹ oṣadhīnām ¹¹² ¹¹³	11-13
prchāmi ¹¹⁴ tvā bhuvanasya nābhiṃ gām ¹¹⁵ tvā prchāmi ¹¹⁶ katamā nu ¹¹⁷ sāksāt ¹¹⁸ 10	11-11

⁹¹ = PSK 13.14.9

⁹² Kā: aham

⁹³ Kā: si; Mā_{1c}, Gu_c: śīṣeva; Pa_c, Gu_c: śitova

⁹⁴ Kā: carukaś; Mā_{1c}: vṛṣaṇabhaś

⁹⁵ Pa_c: carṣaṇinā

⁹⁶ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: sparddhamānaḥ

⁹⁷ Kā: om.

⁹⁸ Kā: vṛttram

⁹⁹ Kā: om.; Pā_c: sampitośa

¹⁰⁰ Kā: na; Mā_c, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: naḥ

¹⁰¹ Kā: vrūhy

¹⁰² Kā: adi

¹⁰³ Kā: daṃ

¹⁰⁴ Kā: praveṣa

¹⁰⁵ Kā: om.

¹⁰⁶ = PSK 13.14.10

¹⁰⁷ Pa_c: rka; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}: kaḥ; Pa_c, Gu_c: ka

¹⁰⁸ Pa_c: vitānām; Gu_c: vitānām

¹⁰⁹ Kā: aridhā; Ma₂: adadhan

¹¹⁰ Kā: vanaspa?Inām; Pa_c: vanasyatīnaṃ; Gu_c: vansyatīnam

¹¹¹ Kā: adadhā

¹¹² Kā: coṣadhīnām.; Gu_c: oṣadhī; G_c does not mark the end of the first verse with daṇḍa.

¹¹³ Kā: z

¹¹⁴ Kā: prschami

¹¹⁵ Kā: śaṃ

¹¹⁶ Kā: prschama[?]

¹¹⁷ Kā: ni; Mā_c, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: nu

¹¹⁸ Pa_c: ??kṣāt

¹ devatalpā ² +devakośāḥ ³ k _u veha t _{ān} ⁴ +nāḥ ⁵ prabrūhi ⁶ yadi ⁷ t _{ān} ⁸ pravettha ⁹	11-11
pṛchāmi ¹⁰ tvā +garagiraḥ ¹¹ kiyanto ¹² yebhyo ¹³ 'gnir ¹⁴ havyaṃ vahaṭi ¹⁵ prajānan _i ¹⁶	11-11
hutaṃ ¹⁷ martyair ¹⁸ amṛto ¹⁹ mar _i tyebhyaḥ ²⁰ 1	11

¹ = PSK 13.14.11

² M_ā_{1c}: devatalpa

³ Kā: devakośa; M_ā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: devakośāḥ

⁴ Pa_c: tā

⁵ Kā: na; M_ā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Gu_c: nāḥ; Pa_c: nāḥ

⁶ Kā: pravrūhy; Pa_c, Gu_c: prabruhi

⁷ Kā: adi; Pa_c, Gu_c: om.

⁸ Kā: ???; Pa_c, Gu_c: t_{ān}

⁹ M_ā_{1c}: pravettha | Immediately after this double daṇḍa, the scribe of M_ā₁ has scratched out the mantra (PS 13.7.10a).

¹⁰ Kā: pṛschāmi

¹¹ Kā: gargara; M_ā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Gu_c: garagiraḥ; Pa_c: giragiraḥ

¹² Kā: kiṃto; The scribe of Pa_c has scratched out a portion of the incorrectly copied text; Gu_c: kiyamṭa. The scribe of Gu_c has copied and scratched out the incorrectly copied text. The entire verse has been scratched out and re-written.

¹³ Pa_c, Gu_c: yebhya

¹⁴ Kā: agnir

¹⁵ Kā: vahatu

¹⁶ Kā: z

¹⁷ Kā: ??atam. Only part of the upper portion of the akṣara remains. Barret has reconstructed *hataṃ; Gu_c: hataṃ

¹⁸ Kā: martyīr

¹⁹ M_ā_{1c}: amṛtor; Ma_{2c}: am?to, manuscript broken off at the bottom of the leaf.

²⁰ M_ā_{1c}: matyebhyaḥ; Ma_{2c}: mar?yebhyaḥ

²¹svapne ya²² ekas²³ tamasā²⁴ sahaiti²⁵ | aṅgāni²⁶ grhṇan²⁷
 puruṣasya²⁸ cakṣuḥ |²⁹
 sa prātar · eti³⁰ tamasā³¹ punas³² | sa hā jyotir³³ eti³⁴ k_uva
 svid³⁵ eti ||2||³⁶

11-11

10-11

²¹ = PSK 13.14.12

²² Kā: om.

²³ Kā: nekas

²⁴ Kā: tapasā

²⁵ Kā: sahitī

²⁶ Mā_{1c}: aṅgāna

²⁷ Kā: grhṇān

²⁸ Kā: puṣṣasya; Mā_{1c}, Gu_c: puṣṣasya

²⁹ Kā: om.

³⁰ Kā: ati

³¹ Kā: tapasā

³² Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: punaḥ

³³ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: yotir

³⁴ Kā: iti

³⁵ Kā: sṛj; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: sadad ; Gu_c: savad

³⁶ Kā: |

³⁷vratapatiṃ³⁸ adhipatiṃ³⁹ | madhukṛtā⁴⁰ madhupatiṃ⁴¹ |⁴² 8-8
 devāṃs⁴³ tvā⁴⁴ sarvāṃ⁴⁵ pṛchāmy⁴⁶ | ahutādaś⁴⁷ ca⁴⁸ te⁴⁹
 kati⁵⁰ ||3||⁵¹ 8-8

³⁷ = PSK 13.14.13

³⁸ Kā: ???tapatiṃ

³⁹ Kā: adhupatiṃ

⁴⁰ Kā: madhupṛṣā

⁴¹ Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: madhipatiṃ

⁴² Kā: om.

⁴³ Kā, Mā_{1c}: devās

⁴⁴ Kā: tvam

⁴⁵ Kā: sarvaṃ; Ma_{2c} sa??? The manuscript is torn along the first line of text on the palm-leaf. The damage continues until the folio-line ends.

⁴⁶ Kā: pṛschāmy; Ma_{2c}: ??cha??

⁴⁷ Kā: ahutāda?; Ma_{2c}: ?????daś

⁴⁸ Kā: ?a; Pa_c: om.

⁴⁹ Kā: tā

⁵⁰ Ma_{2c}: damaged, not legible

⁵¹ Kā: |

⁵²ko antarikṣāt⁵³ pari⁵⁴ paśyatīdam⁵⁵ | yasmād agra indriyaṃ⁵⁶
 saṃ babhūva |
 mahat⁵⁷ sa⁵⁸ kasmād abhayaṃ bibhāya⁵⁹ | kasya⁶⁰ yuktasyāśya⁶¹
 śrakvāl⁶² [|]
 lohitaṃ⁶³ parā- -apatat⁶⁴ tat⁶⁵ kuveha ||4||⁶⁶

11-11

11-8

11

⁵² = PSK 13.14.14. Ma_{2c} is broken off here thus omitting 13.8.4a

⁵³ Mā_{1c}, Gu_c: 'ntarikṣāt; Pa_c: 'ntarikṣāt

⁵⁴ Kā: prati

⁵⁵ Kā: paścataide

⁵⁶ Gu_c: indriyaṃ

⁵⁷ Pa_c: mahat

⁵⁸ Kā: sada; Gu_c: sat

⁵⁹ Kā: vibhāhi

⁶⁰ Kā: kasye; Pa_c: kasyā

⁶¹ Kā: kutasyāndyā; Mā_{1c}: yuktasyā; Ma_{2c}: yutktasyāśya; Pa_c: sya

⁶² Kā, Pa_c, Gu_c: śrakvā; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}: śrakvāl

⁶³ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: lohitaṃ |

⁶⁴ Kā: parāpatata

⁶⁵ Kā: om.

⁶⁶ Kā: |

⁶⁷ ittham ⁶⁸ eke pravrajant _i . .ittham ⁶⁹ eke dakṣiṇā ⁷⁰ pratyañca ⁷¹	8-11
udañcaḥ ⁷² prāñco 'bhi ⁷³ vrajant _y ⁷⁴ eke ⁷⁵ teṣāṃ sarveṣāṃ ⁷⁶ iha	
⁺ saṅgatis ⁷⁷ sākaṃ	11-12
sa ⁷⁸ eko bhūtaś ⁷⁹ carati prajānan\ 5 ⁸⁰	11

⁶⁷ = PSK 13.14.15

⁶⁸ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}: iththam

⁶⁹ Mā_{1c}: -iththam |

⁷⁰ Kā: dakṣiṇaḥ

⁷¹ Kā: pratyañca-

⁷² Kā: -udañca; Mā_{1c}: udañcaḥ |

⁷³ Kā: bhi

⁷⁴ Kā: vṛñjaty; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Gu_c: vrajaṃty; Pa_c: vajraṃty

⁷⁵ Gu_c: e

⁷⁶ Pa_c: sarveṣāṃ

⁷⁷ Kā, Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: saṅgatiḥ; Gu_c: sagaṃtiḥ

⁷⁸ Pa_c, Gu_c: saty

⁷⁹ Kā: bhūtiś

⁸⁰ Kā: |

¹ marīcir ² āsīt sā manasas ³ samabhavat\ 1 ⁴	P
sā prāvīyata ⁵ sā garbham adhatta ⁶ 2 ⁷	P
sa garbho ⁸ [']vardhata ⁹ sa vṛddho 'bravī ¹⁰ jāyā iti ¹¹ 3 ¹²	P
tasyai prajāpatir ajuhot ¹³ +svādhiṣṭhānā ¹⁴ ceti ¹⁵⁺ svadhicaraṇa ¹⁶ ceti 4 ¹⁷	P

¹ = PSK 13.14, prose section

²Kā: marīcar

³ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: manasaḥ

⁴ Kā: z

⁵ Kā: prāvīta

⁶ Kā: adhatta

⁷ Kā: z

⁸ Ma_{2c}: parbho

⁹ Kā: vardhatu; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: varddhata

¹⁰ Kā: vṛavīj

¹¹ Kā: yati

¹² Kā: z

¹³ Kā: juho

¹⁴ Kā: svādhiṣṭhānā; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: svādhiṣṭhāṇa

¹⁵ Kā: deti

¹⁶ Kā: svadhicaraṇac; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: svadhicaraṇa

¹⁷ Kā: z

⁺prajāpatis¹⁸ sasṛje¹⁹ kapāle vijihithāṃ²⁰ mā mā²¹ ⁺saṃtāptam²²
mahāntam²³ lokam abhipaśyamāne²⁴ |5|

P

so 'jāyata²⁵ tasya²⁶ jātasya²⁷ dyāvapṛthivi pārśve²⁸ āstāṃ samudrau²⁹
kukṣī³⁰ suryācadramasāv akṣī³¹ virāt³² śīraḥ³³ |6|³⁴

P

tasmāj jātāt³⁵ sarve pāpmāno vijante³⁶ sarve³⁷ asmāt³⁸ pāpmāno³⁹
vijante⁴⁰ ya evaṃ veda |7|⁴¹

P

¹⁸ Kā: prajāpati; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: prajāpate

¹⁹ Kā: samṛje; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: svasurjyo

²⁰ Kā: vijihātān

²¹ Kā: saṃ

²² Kā: mattvapatim; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: saṃtāptam; Gu_c: ?antāptam

²³ Kā: māhantam

²⁴ Kā: abhipatyamāne

²⁵ Kā: jā

²⁶ Kā: ṛtasya

²⁷ Pa_c: om.

²⁸ Kā: pārśvay

²⁹ Kā: samudro; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: samudau

³⁰ Pa_c, Gu_c: kukṣā

³¹ Kā: akṣaud; Ma_{2c}: a???? (unreadable)

³² Kā, Mā_{1c}: virāt

³³ Kā: chirah

³⁴ Ka: om.

³⁵ Kā, Pa_c: jātā

³⁶ Kā: vijayante; Mā_{1c}: vijantet

³⁷ Kā: om.

³⁸ Kā: om.; Pa_c: asmat

³⁹ Kā: om.; Ma_{2c}: pāpmano

⁴⁰ Kā: om.; Ma_{2c}: vijantet

⁴¹ Kā: z z z z ity atharvaṇikapaippalādaya śakhyāṃ trayodaśaḥ kāṇḍas

saṃāptaḥ zz zz; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}: ṣoḍaśarccakāṇḍaḥ; Pa_c: iti paippalādsamhitāyṃ
ṣoḍaśarccyora nām(13) trayodaśakāṇḍaḥ saṃāptaḥ; Gu_c: iti ṣoḍaśarccakāṇḍaḥ
saṃāptaḥ

*Identification of the Intermediate Space:
PS 13.1 - 2*

This new hymn, which is not found in ŚS, can be placed into Bloomfield's category of theosophical and speculative hymns. The main topic of the hymn is the placing of all the important elements of the cosmos inside the individual. In addition, for protection against the malevolent actions of sorcerers, the *pratisara* amulet is mentioned in relation to this process of internalization of the cosmos. This amulet is also mentioned in ŚS 2.11 and 4.40, where it is used in the context of protection against witchcraft.

This hymn is an example in the Vedic corpus of an early level of Vedic magical thought. Several items of the cosmos and some of ritual are *antarhita- me* 'placed inside me'. Ritual items include: *agni*, *soma*, and the *dhiṣṇya* fires. However, most of the hymn is concerned with the placing of elements from the universe, as well as cosmogonic and some more abstract elements, into the intermediate space – the inner space - of the person, probably the *yajāmana*. Among the elements of the universe are mountains, fire, the wide-regions, streams, the twelve ponds, the seasons, herbs, flowers, animals, trees, and the sun. Important cosmogonic elements include the meters, the *sāman-s*, Prajāpati, Virāj, Puruṣa, the Sādhya-s and the Āptya-s, and the great (seven) seers (*ṛṣi-s*). Some unexpected *realia* seems to be included such as forts (*pur*).

Why does the composer of this spell want to place these things 'inside me'? The answer is simple: control and influence. If these things are placed inside the

person, then that person has direct control of them and thus can effect and affect them. Regarding magical thought, Witzel explains:

Vedic India regards any force of nature (such as the wind), good or bad luck, illnesses, feelings, and even abstract notions like revenge as living, personified powers. These forces have their own life, yet they are bound by certain general laws, especially the one of cause and effect: Nothing is without cause to the Vedic Indian; it is the cause for the existence of a particular entity, its origin and true nature that the Vedic magician wants to find out in order to influence it.¹

Thus, one could say that the present *antarhita me* hymn is the first and simplest level of magical thought in the Veda, which attempts to influence elements of the universe by placing under the direct physical control of the individual.

The second level of magical thought is the well-known type of identification of the type ‘Puṣan is cattle’ that is found all over the brāhmaṇas, but which appears already in the ṚV and the AV. An example is AV 5.9, which identifies the sun with eye, the wind with the breath, the atmosphere with the soul, and the earth with the body. Similarly, ṚV 10.16 identifies the eye of man with the sun and the breath with the wind. This type of identification, like as the identification of the *pravargya*-pot with the burning sun (“I look down on you with the eye of the sun”), establishes a connection (*bandhu*) between an element in the ritual and the cosmos. Karl Hoffmann has concisely expressed the principle behind such magical identifications:

¹ Witzel (1979: 6).

Das Prinzip dieses magischen Denkens ist etwa folgendes: Irgendein Faktum einer Ritualhandlung wird aufgrund eines gemeinsamen Merkmals mit irgendeinem Faktum eines Mythos, eines kosmischen oder irdischen Geschehens gleichgesetzt: magisch identifiziert. Ist diese magische Identifikation des einen Faktenpaares vollzogen, dann wird in durchaus folgerichtiger Weise argumentiert, daß auch die weiteren Fakten identisch seien.²

Again, the reason for identifying two entities is to attain control of the cosmic element by means of the control exerted on its counterpart in the ritual.³ Thus, one explanation given in the Agnihotra ritual for keeping the fire 'awake' at night is to keep the sun safe during its nightly passage through the underworld because the ritual fire is equated with the sun.⁴

The third level of magical thought in the Veda is that expressed in the Upaniṣads. In these texts, the nexus of identification or connections (*bandhu-s*) is expanded by one additional level. Following the system of identifications between the ritual and the cosmos, in the Upaniṣad we see the next full development on this trend: the identification of the cosmos (macrocosm), person (microcosm), and ritual (mesocosm). In these texts, we see the full interiorization of the ritual.

² Hoffmann (1968b: 14).

³ The topic of *bandhu-s* has most recently been discussed by Brian K. Smith in his *Reflections on Resemblance, Ritual, and Religion* (1989).

⁴ See Bodewitz (1976).

Paippalāda Saṃhitā 13.1-2
Translation

The mixture of ritual and cosmic items in this hymn foreshadow the later Upaniṣadic identification of the self (*ātman*) with parts of the ritual as well as part of the cosmos. One could say that the author of the hymn seems to be ahead of his time, as he even mentions that the *brahmayajña* is placed inside of the individual. This term is often used in the Upaniṣads to express the interiorization of the Vedic Sacrifice.

- 1 The high intermediate space (is) placed inside me. The mountains (and) fires (are) placed inside of me.
The incantation of these ones here must not succeed. I beat them in the opposite direction with the reverter-amulet.
- 2 Let the ascetic heat (*tapas*) and exhaustion inside me move around. I place the poem (*brahman*) and the sacrifice inside me.
[The incantation of these ones here must not succeed. I beat them in the opposite direction with the reverter-amulet.]
- 3 You two, Agni and Soma, will be inside (me). I make (for myself) the sky, as an armor, and the earth.
[The incantation of these ones here must not succeed. I beat them in the opposite direction with the reverter-amulet.]
- 4 The chanted *sāman* (is) placed inside me. Prajāpati, the chief (of the gods is) placed inside (me).
[The incantation of these ones here must not succeed. I beat them in the opposite direction with the reverter-amulet.]
- 5 The queen of the snakes (and) Virāj (are) placed inside me. The man fit for sacrifice (is) placed inside me.
[The incantation of these ones here must not succeed. I beat them in the opposite direction with the reverter-amulet.]
- 6 The six converging wide-spaces (are) placed inside me. The Sādhya-s (and) the Āptya-s (are) placed inside me.
[The incantation of these ones here must not succeed. I beat them in the opposite direction with the reverter-amulet.]
- 7 The wise seers (are) [placed inside] me. The sun, Mātariśvan, (is) placed inside me.
[The incantation of these ones here must not succeed. I beat them in the opposite direction with the reverter-amulet.]
- 8 The meandering streams (are) placed inside me. The herbs bearing flowers (are) placed inside me.
[The incantation of these ones here must not succeed. I beat them in the opposite direction with the reverter-amulet.]

- 9 The animals that are in thickets (are) placed inside me. The winged bird (is) placed inside me.
[The incantation of these ones here must not succeed. I beat them in the opposite direction with the reverter-amulet.]
- 10 The arrows of *brāhmaṇas* (are) placed inside me. The trees having roots (are) placed inside me.
[The incantation of these ones here must not succeed. I beat them in the opposite direction with the reverter-amulet.]

- 1 The couches of the gods and their (temporary) forts (are) placed inside me. Among the meters, the Jagatī (is) placed inside me.
[The incantation of these ones here must not succeed. I beat them in the opposite direction with the reverter-amulet.]
- 2 The twelve lakes (are) placed inside me. The morning star (Venus is) placed inside me.
[The incantation of these ones here must not succeed. I beat them in the opposite direction with the reverter-amulet.]
- 3 The (seven) *dhiṣṇya*-fire altars (are) placed inside me. The seasons, the sections of the year, (are) placed inside me.
[The incantation of these ones here must not succeed. I beat them in the opposite direction with the reverter-amulet.]
- 4 The four directions (are) placed inside me. I place inside (myself) what which has become and what is to become.
The incantation of these ones here must not succeed. I beat them in the opposite direction with the reverter-amulet.
- 5 I beat your prepared oblation. You who have cut up (my oblation) violently,
(I tie up) your two arms behind. I tie up (your) mouth.
- 6 I tie up your two arms. I tie up (your) mouth.
By means of the wrath of the god Agni, with that, I have killed your offering, you who have cut up (my oblation) violently.

Paidva, the snake-killing horse: PS 13.3 - 4

Paidva is the name of the horse given to Pedu by the Ásvins. The horse was given as a replacement for an inferior horse (*aghāśva*).¹ Paidva is said to be swift, strong, and white and is called *ahihan* ‘serpent-slaying,’ an epithet that is applied to Indra three times in the RV. Paidva is mentioned in four hymns in the RV when very little is said about him, especially as it relates to the important epithet *ahihan*.² In the AV, Paidva is mentioned six times in ŚS 10.4 in the context of a charm against snakes and snake-venom.

The present PS hymn provides more details about this famous horse. He is mentioned along with other remedies against snake venom, such as *nākula* and *māṃścatu*, which will make its venom sapless. He is linked to killing snakes, which is said to be the result of his neighing. At the same time, the serpent-killing ability of Paidva is connected with Indra’s major myth-cycle, the killing of Vṛtra. The verbal form of the narration of the basic Indo-European myth finds yet another variation in this hymn:³

¹ RV 1.116.6.

² RV 1.116–119, 4.38, 7.71, 10.39. See Bergaigne (1897 II: 460–462) and Macdonell (1897: 52, 149). Interestingly, the epithet *ahihan* appears five times in the RV, two of which are applied to Paidva.

³ Watkins (1995: 297-303).

Paippalāda Saṃhitā 13.3-4
Translation

HERO	SLAY (*g ^h en-)	SERPENT	(with weapon) (with companion)
------	----------------------------	---------	-----------------------------------

PS 13.4.7cd krandenāśvasya vājino | ahanyantāhayah prthak

By means of the neighing of the swift horse, one by one the snakes were beaten.

Obviously, the attribution of Indra's epithet *ahi*han to Paidva has led to application of the basic formula, which defines this horse as hero.

This hymn is also interesting from the point of view of snake lore in Vedic literature. Although the IE word means snake, in the RV (and in Indo-Iranian in general⁴) *ahi* is pictured as the dragon-type creature whose main task seems to be to hold back the waters, which is equated with the holding back of life-giving forces. In the RV, *ahi* is still described as three-headed (*trīsūrśán-/ trimūrdhán*) and six-eyed (*ṣaḥlákṣa*). In this hymn, as well as in its counterpart, ŚS 10.4, we observe a transition from *ahi*, the three-headed dragon, to *ahi*, the snake. In typically Atharvavedic fashion, the hymn focuses on aspects of popular beliefs rather than the hieratic mythology of the RV. The context of ŚS material, according to Kauśika Sūtra, is protection against snakes, in particular their venom. This theme appears in several ŚS hymns: 4.7, 6.56, 7.56, 7.88, and 10.4, to mention a few. The aim of these charms is to make the venom 'sapless' and thus lose its strength and vigor.

⁴ Benveniste (1934).

Our PS hymn is, however, still in transition. Intermingled with the typical Atharvavedic sorcery as an antidote to the venom are a few reminiscences of Indra's battle against the great *ahi*, Vṛtra. Thus, a link is made between Vṛtra, the Indo-Iranian dragon (*aži/ahu*), who is not poisonous, and *ahi* as *sarpa*,⁵ the poisonous snake (perhaps the cobra). In this hymn, *ahi* sometimes seems to refer to "the *ahi*," Vṛtra, as the progenitor of all snakes (also called *ahi*). However, the most of the typical characteristics which are commonly associated with snakes in later Vedic texts such as *darvī* 'hood' (ŚS 10.4.13) and *vṛścika* 'stinger' (ŚS 10.4.10, PS 16.15.10) are not found in this PS hymn. The hymn stresses the connection of *ahi* with the poison-producing aspects of snakes. In this hymn, as in the AV in general, *ahi* expresses the overlapping concept of snake/dragon.

⁵ It should be noted that *sarpa* 'serpent' appears for the first time in the late RV 10.16, even though it is inherited from Indo-European.

Paippalāda Samhitā 13.3
Translation

Paippalāda Samhitā 13.3

- 1 Indra, risen, causes the chariot fitted with a turning blade as a missile to turn 100 *yojana-s*, crushing the descendents of Ahi.
- 2 The massive snakes creeping on their bellies were slain, curling (its) hind part upwards like a dog (curls its tail while) eating a rice-ball.
- 3 O evil one, having the form of evil, why did you thrust at my comrade? You did not see me come, the real destroyer of poison.
- 4 Having the teeth of a snake, we go about like those who tear the testicles of cattle.
I beat the (leopard-snake) embracing the *pīlu* trees. (I beat) the leopard-snake at (its) support.
- 5 Any person whatsoever impelled away this (poison), like (something) lead by the wind in various (directions).
All you pronounce the poison that belongs to the snake sapless!
- 6 Your dwelling (is) in the grass. O evil one, your house (is) in the tripus. The wind beats you who are unsplit. It rains upon (you) who are unsplit.
- 7 By means of the *nākula*-remedy, by means of that we crush the snakes. The small tree is the *māṃścatu* (tree). It has made them sapless.
- 8 O black snake, (your) venom (is) sapless, of both (you) and the constrictor. The pains which (are those) of the neighing (horse), we lead those away from here.
- 9 Paidva was born here. His turning (around was produced) here. Here, (as) the wild animal (is) neighing, the poison goes to destruction.
- 10 Let the winds going in different directions blow. Let the rains rain in every direction.
You must urinate on the poison in every direction as (through) a hole having a hundred streams.

- 1 From here, Indra causes the chariot, adorned with yellow (garlands) to turn.
With this (chariot), the *lihna* drives quickly crushing any animal named snake.
- 2 By means of which (chariot), O Indra, you crushed the enemies by means of which (chariot) you split Vṛtra,
by means of that (chariot), O you whose power is hundred fold, you crush the progeny of Ahi.
- 3 The earth, the sky (and) the sun rejoiced
when Paidva, who has a horse as a mother, dispersed the snakes by means of neighing.
- 4 When Paidva, who has a horse as a mother, dispersed the snakes by means of neighing
indeed, he (the snake) lays as toothed rope along the putrefying Earth.
- 5 The waters do not grow old or (does) that which is immortal (grow old).
May Indrāṇī not become a widow.
The poison, the besieger, does not abide in you (Indra) like an arrow
(does not abide) on stone.
- 6 Indra and Agni, Mitra and Varuṇa, Tvaṣṭṛ, Aditi, Bhaga
(and) the horse, Paidva, I call upon. This man of mine here must not be injured.
- 7 In that very moment, just born, neighing, along with the amnion, he shook (it) off.
By means of the neighing of the swift horse, the snakes were beaten one by one.

This is a hymn to Agni to protect his comrades. It may have been especially used by the house priest of the king. Agni is equated with not only all priestly knowledge and important seven priests but, most interestingly, with the purohita, the house priest of the king.¹

As the hymn proceeds, Agni is asked to guard the activities of the sacrificer, probably the king, in ever expanding circles. Agni is asked to protect and to make the sacrifice successful in order to obtain important wishes: warriors, protection at night, protection against the weapons of the other kings, protection against demons, wealth, and long life. Some of these wishes connect this hymn to the sphere of royal ritual and the main job of the king's purohita: to help the king by being instrumental in the success of the king's ritual. The purohita succeeds in this by correctly performing rituals but also, and perhaps more importantly, by using the magic (of the AV) at his disposal. This R̥gvedic hymn, which links the purohita of the gods (Agni) to the general well-being of the sacrificer, would have been particularly attractive to Atharvavedins who wanted to stress the connection between their Veda and the office of the purohita.

¹ The equation of Agni as *purohita* in RV 1.1, *agnīm ile puróhitam* is found many times throughout the RV.

Paippalāda Saṃhitā 13.5-6
Translation

This original RV hymn, however, has not been taken over into the ŚS/Vulgate collection. Although later dharma texts point out that the purohita of the king should be a Paippalādin or Śaunakin,² ŚS does not seem to have the same programmatic direction in the redaction of its saṃhitā. The absence of the coronation ritual material of PS 10 from the ŚS also points to the different concerns of the Śaunakins and Paippaladins.

² See Chap. IIF above.

- 1 To deserving Jātaveda, let us bring about this song by means of (good) thoughtfulness as if (it was) a chariot.
In his company, (his) care for us (is) fortunate. O Agni, may we not be injured in your comradeship.
- 2 He succeeds for whom you sacrifice. He dwells unchallenged. He will obtain (for himself) an abundance of warriors.
He (becomes) strong. Distress (of narrowness) does not visit him. O Agni, [may we not be injured in your comradeship.]
- 3 We will bring fuel. We will prepare the offerings for you, we who are attentive at every joint (of the month).
Make the crossing over of (our) thoughts succeed for living. O Agni, [may we not be injured in your comradeship.]
- 4 We wish to be able to kindle you. Make (our) thoughts succeed. The gods eat the offering in you.
You, lead near the Āditya-s. Indeed, we desire them. O Agni, [may we not be injured in your comradeship.]
- 5 You are the Adhvaryu and the ancient Hotṛ, the Praśāstr, the Potṛ (and) the Purohita by birth.
Knowing all offices of the priesthood, O wise one, you thrive. O Agni, [may we not be injured in your comradeship.]
- 6 (Agni is) the protector of the directions when His creatures, the two-footed and the four-footed, wander during the nights.
You are the excellent great sight of Dawn. O Agni, [may we not be injured in your comradeship.]
- 7 (You) who have a beautiful shape, of like appearance on all sides, you shine entirely over, even in the distance as nearby.
O god, you see even beyond the darkness of the night. O Agni, [may we not be injured in your comradeship.]
- 8 O gods, let the chariot of (that one) pressing out (Soma) be in front. Let our praise surpass the malevolent ones.
Then, understand this speech (and) make (it) prosper. O Agni, [may we not be injured in your comradeship.]

- 9 Beat away the bad praise of malevolent ones with your weapons. (Beat away) even the devouring-demons who are near and far. Then, make a good path for the sacrifice, for the singer. O Agni, [may we not be injured in your comradeship.]
- 10 When you have yoked to the chariot the two reddish ones, the two red (horses), those two who are swift as the wind, your roar (was) like that of bulls. Thereupon, you advance upon the trees by means of that (chariot) which has smoke as its banner. O Agni, [may we not be injured in your comradeship.]

- 1 And then the winged ones feared the noise when your grass-eating sparks spread.
This (is) the good path for your chariots. O Agni, [may we not be injured in your comradeship.]
- 2 You (are) for nourishing of Mitra and Varuṇa. He (Agni) who is supernatural must ask for forgiveness of the anger of the Maruts. Be fully merciful toward us! (Let) their mind again (be merciful). O Agni, [may we not be injured in your comradeship.]
- 3 Supernatural Mitra, you are the best of the gods. You are best of the Vasus, dear to the sacrifice.
May we be under (your) widest shelter. O Agni, [may we not be injured in your comradeship.]
- 4 This is your auspicious (nature) that when kindled in your own house (and) offered *soma*, you who are most merciful one, keep awake. You establish a gift and (movable) wealth for the offerer. O Agni, may we not be injured in your comradeship.
- 5 O possessor excellent (moveable) wealth, to whom you give, he is blameless in totality, O Aditi (Agni).
Whom you will impel by means of auspicious strength. Let us, having progeny exist by means of your kindness.
- 6 Now, O Agni, you knowing about welfare, O god, extend our life here. May you, Mitra and Varuṇa, grant (that) to us. (May) Aditi, Sindhu, Earth and Heaven (grant that to us).

Paippalāda Saṃhitā 13.7-8
Translation
A riddle hymn: PS 13.7 - 8

This hymn is a representative of an old style of riddles or *brahmodya-s*. A *brahmodya* may be said to be a verbal contest whose focus is the analysis of the speculation about cosmogonical and cosmological questions, or about nature of *brahman* or supreme knowledge.¹ According to L. Renou, the *brahmodya* is “l’aboutissement (peut-être dégradé) de l’énigme essentielle du védisme ancien.” Speculation about such riddles formed a central part of Vedic rituals such as the Áśvamedha, Rājasūya, and Vājapeya.

Heesterman understands the classical *brahmodya* as an expression of the ritualist’s effort to remove violence out of the ritual – a violence that was ever present in his theoretical pre-classical ritual:

In fact, sacrifice generally turns on the act of violence, on death, by which its opposite, life, is to be won. Since the classical ritual was based on the break-up of the antithesis (the essential antithesis being life-death), it had to stress life and eliminate death (or at least eliminate it from the place of sacrifice). Actual, violent death was replaced, as I have argued elsewhere, by the non-violent ritual error, to be avoided or expiated in a “technical” way. What is of interest to us is that the antithesis of life and death, albeit under the guise of ritual correctness and error, is not only verbalized, but acted out by the two parties²

¹ See Kuiper (1960).

² Heesterman (1985: 75).

These riddles or *brahmodya* hymns are found in the earliest Vedic text, the RV. The riddles generally entail a discussion between two poets or priests: one posed the questions and the other attempted to answer. However, this is not the only style of riddles that is found in the oldest literature. RV 1.164, the famous riddle hymn by Dīrghatama is simply a series of riddles or questions without explicit answers – like the present PS hymn. Doniger considers the central theme of RV 1.164 on the explicit level to be “the poet’s uncertainty about his knowledge and his joy in experiencing an enlightening vision.”³ This explanation does not seem to fit with the historical development of these types of discussion and arguments as they are seen in the brāhmaṇa texts. Yājñavalkya, for example, hardly seems to be uncertain about his knowledge in the *brahmodya-s* in which he is a participant. One example would be ŚB 14.6.1 = BĀU 3.1, where Yājñavalkya orders the cows (*dakṣiṇā*) to simply be driven away when asked: ‘Venerable Brahmins, let him of you who is the best Brahman drive away these cows.’ Uncertainty is not a feature of these riddles or of the later *brahmodyas*.⁴

Recently, George Thompson has discussed a typology of *brahmodya* found in Vedic literature. He has distinguished between two types of *brahmodya*: the shorter

³ Doniger (1981: 72).

⁴ Cf. Witzel (1987d).

riddling type and the longer self-assertive or enigmatic type.⁵ The shorter riddling type finds its classical locus in the Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā, for example VS 23.55-56:

ká īm are piśaṅgilá
ká īm kurupiśaṅgilá
ká īm āskándam arṣati
ká īm pánthāṃ ví sarpati

What then is the brown one?
 What is the Kurus' brown one?
 What is it that bounding leaps?
 What that crawls beside the path?

ajāre piśanṅgitā
śvatīṭ kurupiśaṅgilá
śaśá āskándam arṣati
áhiḥ pánthāṃ ví sarpati

The goat is the brown one.
 The porcupine is the Kurus' brown one.
 The hare is it that bounding leaps.
 The snake crawls beside the path

Written mostly in anuṣṭubh stanzas, it consists of a question portion followed by an answer portion where the answer portion “consists simply in the replacement of the interrogative element of the question portion with a syllabically equivalent noun element in the answer portion.”⁶

The longer, enigmatic types of *brahmodya*, usually written in triṣṭubh stanzas, generally consist, like the shorter *brahmodya*, of a question and answer pair. The main difference, however, seems to be one of formulation. According to Thompson, “[t]he interrogative element of the question portion is the trisyllabic verb *pṛchāmi*, rather than the brief interrogative pronoun.”⁷ Furthermore, Thompson argues that the use of *pṛchāmi*, which is marked in the initial line

⁵ See Thompson (1997).

⁶ Thompson (1997: 14).

⁷ Ibid., p. 17.

position changes the whole focus of this type of *brahmodya*. Rather than being a test of the participant's knowledge, "it questions, instead, the personal authority, the self-assurance, of the respondent, and invites a response that is self-assertive, even defiant, rather than a set of answers."⁸ Thompson points out that the longer enigmatic *brahmodya-s* preserve "agonistic features, which are only implicit in the shorter type."⁹ The use of *prchāmi* in the marked, line initial position emphasizes the agonistic element.

The present hymn fits more in the enigmatic *brahmodya* paradigm. The author of the hymn has used *prchāmi* in the marked position several times throughout the hymn. However, he has also used interrogative elements in the sentence-initial position. Furthermore, unlike the shorter riddling *brahmodya*, our hymn offers no answers throughout. Unlike VS 23.61-64, a quotation of RV 1.164.34-35, our hymn does not offer an answer counter part to its questions.¹⁰

The agonistic element that Thompson points to in the enigmatic types of *brahmodya* is also present in our hymn. In addition to the use of *prchāmi* in the hymn, the fourth pāda of several stanzas further intensifies the focus on the

⁸ Ibid., p. 21. On the importance of personal prestige and the risk entailed in establishing such prestige in the verbal contest, see Witzel (1987a).

⁹ Ibid., p.18.

¹⁰ As Thompson points out, the answer counterpart in RV 1.164.34–35 really offers no answer at all. Rather, there is only a restatement of the question by replacing *prchāmi* by a demonstrative pronoun.

participant by demanding an answer (using the imperative). For example, PS 13.7.6, 13.7.9, and 13.8.1 ends a series of question demanding an answer, signaled by *brūhi* 'tell!' Similarly, PS 13.7.8 ends with *tāni vettha* 'you know them!' This is probably an abbreviated *tam + nah pra brūhi yadi tam pravettha* 'tell us that if you know it!' which is used in PS 13.7.9 and 13.8.1.

A riddle hymn similar to our example, of perhaps an earlier period, is found in the Avesta and in the Old Norse mythology¹¹. Yasna 44 is a series of cosmological and cosmogonic questions posed by Zarathushtra to Ahura Mazdā.

Y 44.13

*taṭ θβā pərəsā ərəš mōi vaocā Ahurā
yastaṭ mīzdəm hanəntē nōiṭ daiti
yā īt ahmāi ərəžuxdā na dāite
kā tām ahiiā maēiniš aṇhaṭ pauruiiē
viduuā auuam yā īm aṇhaṭ apəmə*

I ask you this: tell me truly, O Ahura
He who did not give the wage to him who earns it,
The man who obtains it by a correct utterance,
Which will be the first punishment (to reach) him for this?
He knows about that one, which will be the last (to reach) him.¹²

The structure of the passage is similar in style to that of the riddles or questions posed in the Aśvamedha in VS 23.61 with the answer given in the next verse.

¹¹ The Völuspa tells of the repeated questioning, in riddle form, about the origin of the world, gods, and humans. To gain access to this special knowledge, Odin lost one eye.

¹² Translation from materials used for Gatha Colloquium (Spring 1995) by Prods Oktor Skjærvø, Harvard University.

pṛchāmi tvā páram ántaṃ pṛthivyāḥ
pṛchāmi yātra bhúvanasya nábhīḥ
pṛchāmi tvā vṛṣṇo áśvasya rétaḥ
pṛchāmi vācāḥ paramāṃ vyòma

This style of simply asking questions, some of which may or may not have answers, is preserved in the present PS hymn thus indicating that such riddles or contests are at least part of the Indo-Iranian poetic tradition.¹³

¹³ Cf. Thompson (1997: 23–25).

- 1 What (garment) of Indra is put on? What (garment) of Agni? What
 (garment) of Viṣṇu? of Tvaṣṭṛ? of Varuṇa?
 (What garment) of Bṛhaspati? Of King Soma? Let the Maruts make rain.
 Wearing what?
- 2 What is the root element of Rudra? of Vāyu? (What is) the great garment
 of the strong ones?
 What does Pūṣan (and) Brahmaṇaspati; and what do the All-gods carry?
- 3 What is the common garment of the gods in which there was harmony
 among them?
 Where does the night dwell? Where (does) the day (dwell)? Where (does)
 this world (dwell)? That becomes the thundercloud when it comes
 together and goes apart.
- 4 With which (vessel) do they carry waters to heaven? Who (is) the leader
 on the same path?
 I ask you about the paths of the wind, of lightning, of thunder, of the water
 (and) of Agni.
- 5 I ask you about the speckled and red (cow). I ask you about the calf,
 together with its mother.
 I ask you about Indra before my eyes and the lord of the highest assembly
 (of gods).
- 6 Who bestowed the names of the birds? Who (bestowed the names) of
 animals? Who (bestowed the names) of snakes, which were the
 troops of the gods?
 Who bestowed (the names) of the offspring? Tell us that!
- 7 How many steps do they climb to the sun by which the reddish one
 ascended to heaven,
 the supporters of the realm, the supporters of the reign, the supporters of
 wealth, the granters of wealth, those who are liberal with wealth,
 (and) those who strive for wealth.
- 8 Who steps beyond by (his) greatness four-fold? What do the poets protect
 carefully?
 I ask you about the (primordial) man before my eyes. How many are the
 limbs of Death? You know them!

- 9 Which *vajra* Indra the bull among the settled people sharpens fighting with Ahi;
by means of which (*vajra*) Maghavan squashed Vṛtra. Tell us that if you know that!
- 10 Who bestowed the names on the mountains? Who bestowed the (names) on the trees ? on the herbs?
I ask you about the navel of being. I ask you about the cow, which one of many is now in front of my eyes?

- 1 Here, Where are the cots and trunks of the gods? Tell us about them, if
 you know them!
 I ask you: how great are those snakes for which Agni – who is foreknowing,
 who is immortal among mortals – carries what was offered (and)
 what is to be offered by mortals.
- 2 The one who in sleep comes together with darkness, grasping the limbs,
 (and) is the eye of man.
 In the morning, that one leaves together with darkness. He goes towards
 the light. Where really does he go?
- 3 (I ask) the king, the lord of authority, the lord of honey, and the bees.
 I ask you about all gods and those who do not partake of the offering.
 How many are there?
- 4 Who looks around this (all) from the middle space? From whom was the
 power produced at the beginning?
 From whom did he fear great fear? From the corner of which yoked one's
 mouth did blood fall out? Where is that here?
- 5 In this manner, some go forth, some (go) southwards, (some) westwards,
 some go forth northwards (and some) eastwards.
 Meeting with all of them here, he, having become one, fore-knowing
 wanders about.

This final portion of prose text of PS 13 is found in the PSK as part of hymn 13.14. In all Orissa manuscripts, this section of prose is counted as a separate sūkta.

The text presents a creation myth based partly on the story of the birth of the Āditya-s already hinted at in RV 10.72 and told in more detail at MS1.6.12, KS 10.16, TS 6.5.6 and ŚB 3.1.3.3.4.¹ In this myth, Aditi offers an *odana* dish to the gods in order to become pregnant. Since she produced excellent sons each time she offered the dish, she thought that if she ate before she offered she would produce even more excellent sons. This improper (ritual) action creates a beign so powerful that the other Āditya-s, still in the womb, are frightened. They caused Aditi to abort (*nir√han*). The abortion was Mārtāṇḍa (ŚB). The dead egg was re-molded and from it Vivasvant, the father of Manu was created.

The present hymn has conflated the Aditi story with some of the cosmogonic themes present in the Veda, namely, the idea of dismemberment as a creative process. In the present hymn, the embryo is conceived by *mārici* by means of (an implied) offering, probably of *caru*,² to Prajāpati. After an offering by Prajāpati,

¹ This important myth has been treated extensively by Hoffmann (1976) and Jamison (1991).

² Caru is the śrauta counter-part of the odana.

rather than an abortion,³ the egg is split. The split creates heaven and earth, the two oceans⁴, the sun and moon (and thus day and night), and finally the mysterious entity Virāj. This last one, links this piece of prose to the well-known hymn ṚV 10.90, the dismemberment of the sacrificial Puruṣa by the gods.

³ There are no terms that indicate an abortion, but, like the incorrectly conceived embryo inside Aditi, this embryo also speaks. One can assume that this embryo could have been also aborted and that Prajāpati ‘fixed’ it after being asked to do so.

⁴ Presumably, the lake (*samudra*) on earth and the ocean in the sky (the Milky Way).

There was a ray of light. She (the ray) originated from mind |1|

She was impregnated. She conceived a fetus |2|

That embryo grew. That grown (one) said: 'I will be born.' |3|

To this (embryo), Prajāpati offered [saying] “this one who has a good standing place” and “this one who is good to be walked on.” |4|

Prajāpati created (them saying). You two skulls (*kapālas*), move apart. Do not heat me up overlooking the great world. |5|

That one was born. Of that one (just) born, the two sides (were) Heaven and Earth, the two bellies (were) the two oceans, the two eyes were the moon and sun, and the head (was) Virāj |6|

When he was born, all evils flee him. All evils flee from this one who knows thus. ||7||

1. Cf. ŚS 10.4.1.

pratisara: This is an amulet used to turn back sorcery. The term appears in ŚS 2.11.2, 4.40.1-8 and 8.5.1,4-6. See Whitney (1905) and Gonda (1937).

2. 2b Tr. Uncommon opening x ∪ – ∪.

mad: The use of *mad*, Ab. sg. instead of the regularly used *me* throughout hymn is unexpected. In all instances where *√dhā* is the verb, the locative pronoun *mayi* would be what one might expect. However, as Bloomfield (1934: 316, 325) notes the interchange between the dative and locative is quite frequent and “hardly distinguishable in meaning,” especially after *√dhā*, for example: *yaśo mayi dhehi* PB, VaitS ‘place splendor in me’ and *yaśo me dhehi* (TĀ *dhāḥ*) ŚS ‘assign splendor for me.’ He also notes variants of the ablative and locative with *antar*, for example *ya usriyā aptyā* (SV *api yā*) *antar aśmanaḥ* (SV *ni*) ‘the cows from within (SV cows within) the rock.’ The PS hymn shows a preference for dative *me* over the more correct locative *mayi*, the former being preferred for metrical reasons. In the present case, although emending *mad* to *me* would not alter the meter and would produce a more regular syntax, such an emendation would go against the editing principle of preserving the peculiarities of the Paippalāda Saṃhitā. See also Wackernagel-Debrunner *AIḠ* (3: 461) and Delbrück (1888: 113-114) on the strong form of the pronoun. Renou (1930: 366) also notes a similar confusion with *me* and *te*.

tapas: From *√tap* ‘to heat,’ *tapas* refers to the accumulated (magical) power that results from the ascetic practices of Brahmins. However, in the RV and AV,

tapas is also one of the cosmic-forces or power-substances (Daseinmacht), which constantly acts upon and frames the conceptual cosmos of Vedic civilization in the same manner that in the modern conceptual cosmos physical forces like gravity, strong and weak nuclear force, etc. act upon and frame the physical universe. In RV 10.190.1, it is said that *ṛtām ca satyām cābhīddhāt tāpaso ādhy ajāyata* ‘the force of active truth (*ṛta*) and spoken-truth (*satya*) are born from inflamed austerities (*tapas*).’ In, this instance *tapas* functions as the outer frame within which all other cosmic-forces or power-substances contained – *satya*, *anna*, *amṛta*, *śraddhā*, *āpas*, and *agni* are generally born of *ṛta*. *Tapas* develops in the Vedic, and especially by the Epic period into an independent power that can be accessed by anyone who undertakes severe ascetic practices. This power-substance can be gained, accumulated, increased, but also lost, stolen, and destroyed – Cf. TS 3.1.1.2 regarding the *dīkṣā* and ŚB 13.4.1.9 in relation to the king. See PS 14.4.7-7 below. Cf. Oldenberg (1894: 220-221) and Hara (1994, 1997).

3. 3b Tr. 10 syllables. Restoring *kṛṇu* results in rare cadence ◡ ◡ ◡ x. Furthermore, -nv- is rarely restored to -n_uv- in the RV. Cf. Arnold (1905: 105). Arnold notes the verbal suffix -nu- shows only occasional vocalization. Following van Nooten and Holland (1995: x-xii), this line can be restored by introducing a syllabic rest yielding ◡ – – ◡ | • ◡ ◡ – ◡ – –. This preserves the general rule of having a light syllable in the 2nd position after the caesura. Cf. Arnold (1905: 209-215).

4. 4a Tr. 10 syllables. This 10-syllable pāda cannot be properly restored. If a rest is introduced after the 4th syllable, the break pattern becomes impossible as the 2nd syllable after the caesura would be heavy, cf. van Nooten and Holland (1994: vi). Furthermore, the cadence produced if a rest is introduced is uncommon $\cup - \cup x$ (25 x in RV). It should also be noted that in many of the pāda-s in this hymn, *me* occurs in the 5th position. Introducing a rest after the 4th syllable would break this recurring pattern. See Arnold (1905: 212-214) and Van Nooten and Holland (1994: xii).

Prajāpati: This deity is relatively unknown in the RV. The term *prajāpati* occurs in RV 4.53 as an epithet of Savitr. Otherwise, the term appears as the proper name of a deity only four times in RV 10 – 10.85.43, 10.184.1, 10.169.4, and 10.121, which are devoted to him. The full mythological import of Prajāpati is not seen until the YV where he is the chief creator deity. In the AV, he is invoked often as protector of generation and living beings. Prajāpati is mentioned in PS 15.13-14 and ŚS 11.6, which lists of the most important deities of whom relief is asked. PS 15.14.4=ŚS 11.6.13 is common to the AV tradition. See Gonda (1986).

5. **sarparājñī:** sarparājñī or sarpārajñī, according to tradition, the composer of RV 10.189, is identified with the earth. The verses, however, make no mention of snakes. One explanation for the ritual application of the *sarpārajñī* verse is found in the Daśarātra ritual (ĀB 5.23). On the 10th day, after the performance of the *patnīsamyājas*, the priest ‘move back in a snaking fashion’ into the *sadas*. The priest

crouching one behind the other move back 'like a snake' to be the *sadas*. See Minkowski (1991).

Virāj: The feminine principle born from *puruṣa* in RV X.90. In the RV, she is a necessary element of creation: *puruṣa* is (re-) born from *virāj* and was then able to be productive. The identity of *virāj* in the RV is quite obscure. She seems to be identified with the primordial waters. In later Vedic mythology, Virāj is identified with food and with Aditi. See PS 14.6.8n below.

puruṣo medhyaḥ: 'the man fit for sacrifice' points to awareness of human sacrifice (*puruṣamedha*) in the Vedic texts. VādhB 4.108 provides the most direct statement about human sacrifice. The text speaks of a sacrificer not wanting to eat the *idā* portion of the human victim. The human victim is then replaced, successively, by a horse and a hornless goat. The passage also mentions the five original sacrificial victims (*paśu*) – man, horse, bull, ram, and goat – which were eventually replaced by rice and barley. The passage also speaks of the gods' retreat from humanity upon these substitutions. It seems they were quite fond the *asu* and *medha* produced from humans. Cf. AB 2.8. See Schmidt (1997: 212) and Witzel (1997d: 391-92).

6. **ṣaḍ ūrvīḥ:** the four compass-directions plus the upper and lower direction. These wide-regions must be different from the real geographical directions like *pūrvādis*, the true eastern direction of the sky. Already RV 10.128 makes a distinction between the four *dis* and *ṣaḍ ūrvīḥ*. Sāyaṇa explains the wide-regions as Heaven, Earth, Day, Night, Water, and Plants. See Witzel (2000).

Sādhya-s: This is one of the groups of deities that according to the Veda existed before the *deva-s*. In several passages, the Sādhya-s are said to have reached heaven before the generation of *deva-s* led by Indra. Cf. KS 23.8, 26.7, MS 3.9.5, and TS 6.3.5.1. They are called *pūrve devās* ‘the ancient gods.’ They were the first to reach heaven by means of ritual. They are also said to try to keep the *deva-s* out of heaven, cf. KS 23.8. According to Kuiper (1979: 242-244), it seems that they and probably the other (previous) generations of gods, which include the *Viśve Devās*, stand in an opposition to the newer group, the *deva-s*.

Āptya-s: In the RV as well as later, *āptya* seems to refer to an entire class of beings. RV 10.120.6: *stuṣéyyam puruvárpasam ṛbhvam inátamam āpt.yám āpt.yánām | á darṣate śávasā saptá dānūn prá sākṣate pratimánāni bhúri* ‘(I impel) the praiseworthy one, who has many forms, skillful, the most powerful, the best of the Āptyas. With his strength, he will split open the Seven Dānu-s. He will conquer many well matched opponents.’ AB 8.14.3 and ŚB 13.4.3.16, place the Āptya-s next to the Sādhya-s, the Maruts and Aṅgiras, and the Anvādhyas and Maruts.

Furthermore, in AB the Sādhya-s, Āptya-s and *deva-s* are said to be: *athainam asyām dhruvāyām madhyamāyām pratiṣṭhāyām diśi sādhyas cāptyās ca devāḥ ṣaḍbhis caiva pañcaviṃśair ahobhir abhyaśiñcann* ‘Then in this fixed middle established direction, the Sādhya-s, Āptya-s and the gods anointed him with the six-day Pañcaviṃśa...’ Like the Sādhya-s and the *Viśve Devās*, the Āptya-s seem to be part of a generation of gods, which predates the Āditya-s. This is further supported by what the texts tell about the better known among the Āptya-s, namely Trita

Āptya. Trita Āptya's most famous deed in the RV is the slaying of Viśvarūpa, the son of Tvaṣṭṛ. The similarity of Trita Āptya to Avestan Thraētaona, son of Āθβiia was noted by Hillebrandt (1927-29) and has most recently been discussed by Watkins (1995: 331-323) in the context of a common Indo-Iranian myth.

According to Watkins, Avestan Thrīta and Thraētaona are ablaut variants of the same name, which is identical to Vedic Trita Āptya. Avesta Āθβiia < *ātpiia is identical with Vedic Āptya, which has been remade by metathesis probably by association with āp 'water'. See Mayrhofer *EWA* s.v.

7. [⁺antarhitā] is the crucial *lacuna* that establishes the interrelationship of all PS manuscripts. Cf. Chap. III G-H.

ṛṣayaḥ: Refers to the seven seers, *sapta ṛṣayaḥ* (Av. *haptō irīngā*, cf. Yasht 8) who are still visible in the sky after having reached heaven and become permanent residents. They are the constellation Ursa Maior, the Great Bear. This association is clear from ŚB 2.1.2.4 *saptarṣīn u ha sma vai pura ṛkṣā ity ācakṣate* 'for the seven seers were declared as the bears.' This old name, cf. RV 1.24.10, is related to GK. Arktos. See Witzel (1984: 219). On the *sapta ṛṣayaḥ*, see also PS 13.7.2n below.

Mātariśvan: In the RV, *mātariśvan* refers both to the fire (*agni*) and to the producer or receiver of fire, the Vedic Prometheus, cf. RV 3.5.10. In RV 3.5.9, Agni is called Tanūnapāt, Narāśansa and Mātariśvan. Elsewhere, Agni is said to appear to Mātariśvan (RV 1.31.3, 1.143.2). In post-Rgvedic texts, *mātariśvan* appears as another term for wind. In the ŚS passages where the word appears, it nearly always means wind. However, given the relation of Agni and the sun, which in ritual is

made explicit, the identification of sun and *mātarīśvan* in AV is not unlikely. See Macdonell (1897: 71-72).

8. 8a Tr. Rare break – | – –.

9 ⁺**kakṣyāḥ**: There are two meanings for *kákṣa* in Vedic: (1) ‘bushes, shrubbery, Gebüsch;’ and (2) ‘armpit, Achselhöhle.’ The latter meaning, according to Hoffmann (1966), from *kákṣa*- m., is a homonym found only in AV 6.137.2 along with secondary derivations based on it: *upakakṣá-* (RV 10.71.7), *apikakṣá-* (RV 10.134.7), *apikakṣyā-* (RV 1.117.2), etc. According to Hoffmann, the meaning ‘bush’ cannot be settled, as with Mayrhofer *EWA* s.v., as a later, secondary meaning from *kákṣa* ‘armpit’. *kakṣa* having the meaning of body part belongs with YAv. *kaśa-*, Lat. *coxa* and OHG *hahsa*. Vedic *kákṣa*- ‘bush, thicket’ probably belongs with OHG *hag* ‘hedge, fence, Hecke’, *hegga*, *hecka*, *hagan* ‘thorny bush, Dornbusch’ which is from IE **kagh* ‘to enclose’. With VS 16.34, *kakṣya* can mean ‘belonging to the bush or thicket.’ Jamison (1987: 81-88) also agrees that *kákṣa*- “must be at least synchronically distinct from the body part.” The usage in this PS hymn supports the meaning of *kakṣa*- as a place where animals hide, which must certainly be the savannah or grasslands outside inhabited areas such as *grāma-s* or villages. Cf. Hoffmann (1982: 67-69).

10. 10b Jg. Uncommon cadence – – ∪ – x.

1. **pur:** The evidence from the early Vedic texts, as gathered by Rau (1973) suggests that a *pur* consisted of several concentric ramparts on round ground plan. These forts were made of mud or stone and often needed repair after the rainy season. They included wooden sheds as quarters for occupants that were stocked with provisions (water, fodder for cattle). These structures were temporary in nature and seem to have been occupied at times of danger. During war, they served as a base of operation. Such evidence does not fit with the old theory proposed by Wheeler, that *pur* refers to the abandoned or destroyed cities of the Indus Valley Civilization. Cf. F. R. Allchin (1995) and Erdosy (1995).

2. 2a Tr. Uncommon cadence – – ∪ x.

samudra: The mention of twelve *samudra-s* argues against some older and more recent opinions (Bisht, in press) that this term means the earthly seas or oceans. *Samudra* may refer to confluences or large lakes which were formed by the seasonal overflow of rivers in the Punjab. Mention of multiplicity of waters and oceans, and for that matter other parts of the cosmos including the earth, sky, sun, etc., is found in AV 11.7.14, 13.3.6, and 19.27.4. See PS 14.1.8n below. Cf. Kirfel (1991) and Klaus (1986).

auṣasi: From the grammatical form, this is a star or a celestial body that is 'related to Uṣas.' It must be a star that is visible at dawn or at times close to dawn. This is probably Venus, which is one of the brightest heavenly bodies and especially visible toward dawn. TB attests *auṣadī* 'star'. However, Klaus (1986) and Kirfel (1991) both list other names for Venus, not including *auṣasi*. This is a unique name

for a particular heavenly body that cannot be identified with any particular celestial body, so far.

3. **dhiṣṇya**: Small altars, seven in number, used by the Soma priests: *hotrīya* (for the *hotṛ*), *āgnīdhṛīya* (for the *āgnīdhṛa*), *prasāstrīya* (for the *maitrāvaruṇa*) and for the *brāhmaṇācchamsin*, *potṛ*, *neṣṭṛ*, *acchāvāka* plus an additional one, the *mārjālīya*. The *mārjālīya* is located outside the *sadas*, opposite the *āgnīdhṛa* to the south of the *mahāvedi*. It is the place where the sacrificial utensils are cleansed. It is half inside and half outside of the *vedi*. These altars are already mentioned in the ṚV, and are said to by some scholars (Cf. Allchin (1995:48)) to be present in the pre-Vedic period BMAC site of Kalibaṅgan.

ṛtu: This term is used in the ṚV to denote the seasons. The ṚV knows generally five seasons: spring (*vasanta*), summer (*grīṣma*), the rainy season (*prāṇṛ*), autumn (*śarad*), and winter (*himā*, *hemanta*). A more usual division into five seasons is found in AV (8.2.22, 8.9.15, 13.1.18, but not in the ṚV, enumerates five seasons: *vasanta*, *grīṣma*, *varṣā*, *śarad*, *hemanta-śīśīra*. A list of six seasons is also found in AV (6.55.2, 12.1.36) in which *hemanta* and *śīśīra* are counted as two separate seasons.

5. b = TB 2.4.2.2.

1. Cf. ŚS 10.4.1.

1c An. 9 syllables.

kṣuravartamāna: This term probably refers to the *kṣurapavi* ‘the razor-tire’, which according to Sparreboom (1995: 130-131) is the armed wheel of battle chariots. No representation of this ‘razor-tire’ has been found thus far. The function of such razors or spokes sticking out of the wheel is to damage the opponent’s wheels. In RV 1.166.10, *pavi* is the name of a weapon. This weaponry attached to the chariot’s wheel is similar to that known from the chariots in the Oxus area. It is also reminiscent of Indra’s *vajra*, which is supposed to turn as it flies through the air and actually returns, much like a boomerang. Cf. Thapar (1975) on *vajra*.

A **yojana** is a measure of length that refers especially to the distance traveled without having to unyoke one’s oxen. 1 *yojana* = 4 *krośas* = approximately 9 miles. Cf Macdonell (1912) s.v.

The copyist of Gu_c has actually written *jotāni* but has scratched out the *prṣṭamātra* portion of the vowel (e), thus indicating the correct reading, *jātāni*.

2. 2c An. 7 syllables. Rare cadence – ∪ ∪ x. 2c An. Uncommon opening x – ∪ ∪.

udveṣṭayanta<ś> śva: *ud* + √*veṣṭ* ‘to wind, to twist upward.’ Although a comparatively late attested meaning (Mhb +), it is exactly what describes what the tail of a dog does when it is eating. The image remains difficult to understand. The massive serpent (*ahi*) which creeps or slithers wraps itself around its tail/hind part upon being slain, in the same manner that a dog, stretched out, eating a piṇḍa, curls

its tail. This could refer to the general coiled posture of snakes as they prepare to attack their prey. More likely, however, the image is that of a dead snake. After a snake has died, nerve reflexes may cause muscle twitches for several hours after death. The muscle twitching may cause the snake's body to coil. See Ernst and Zug (1996: 79).

On *veṣṭayanta*, Jamison (1983: 134) follows the idea laid down by Tedesco that *viṣṭa/veṣṭā* is the result of the hyper-Sanskritization of the Middle Indic form of \sqrt{vrt} (**vetṭh*) – a formal development based on *varṭate/varṭayati*. Gotō (1988: 313) notes about Tedesco's hypothesis that “lautgesetzlich, zumindest, ist die Hypothese ausgeschlossen.” Cf. Mayrhofer *EWA* sub *veṣṭ*, and Gotō (1987: 299-300).

All manuscripts read *id* for **ud*. This confusion between *i*- and *u*- in both branches is not uncommon, especially in PSK. A good example is PS 8.12.12, The Surā hymn: *Kā: idam kurucemām sūrā*; *Mā₁, Ma₂: idam kodacemām sūra*. PS should read: **udaṅkodacemām sūrām* ‘spoon, scoop up this surā.’ The reading in the present hymn must have resulted not only from the influence of the local pronunciation but also probably from re-interpretation at some point transmission: **pucham udveṣṭayanta* > *puchāmi dveṣa*°.

3. 3a An. Uncommon opening x u u –.

The portion of the text in PSK, after *aga*, continues in PSK 11.6.11 with *-tām* and is accented on the last three words of the verse, which are the last three words

of PSK 11.6, a hymn that is accented throughout. Cf. Witzel (1976) and Bhattacharya (1997: xxii-xxix)

Cf. ŚS 10.4.24. The poison-destroying (*viśaduṣaṇam*) tracks of Indra's chariot are identified with the potency of the *taudī* plant.

4. PS 13.3.3 = PSK 13.13.5 located at line 4 of folio 153a. The next verse, PS 13.3.4 continues at PSK 11.7.1, line 9 of folio 141a. Orissa manuscripts do not have this disjunction.

carāmasi: The *-masi* ending is the more common ending in the RV, occurring five times as frequent as *-mas*. In AV, *-mas* is more common than *-masi*. In this instance, metrical conditions have forced the poet to use the older, less common AV form. See Macdonell (1977: 314).

⁺pīlūn: *pīlu* is only attested as m. (AVP +) as well as later in Suśruta, Caraka and MHB. In AV 20.135.12, *pīlu* n. is attested as the 'fruit of the Pīlu tree'. See Mayrhofer *EWA* s.v.

prḍāku: This term refers to a particular color and/or pattern of a snake rather than being generic term for snakes – which seems to be *ahi*, at least in this hymn (also ŚS 10.4). As discussed by Lubotsky in the Second International Vedic Workshop, October 1999, *prḍāku* refers to a particular kind of snake as opposed to *tīraścīrāji* 'cross-lined' in ŚS 10.4.13 = PS 16.16.3. *prḍāku* also refers to the panther (*panther pardus*) in ŚS 6.38.1 as well as PS 5.10.3. Lubotsky agrees with Zehnder that naming a snake *prḍāku* must be due to the pattern of the skin of the snake. He offers the solution that *prḍāku* is Russell's viper (*Vipera russelli*), a

poisonous snake common in the subcontinent. This snake when full grown has a thick body like a python with dark brown diamond shaped markings that run in three rows. When threatened it coils up and hisses loudly and continuously. Cf. Zehnder (1999: 29).

5. 5c An. Uncommon opening x – ॐ ॐ; uncommon cadence – – – x. 5d An. Uncommon opening x – ॐ ॐ.

⁺**apāsauṣur**: S-aorist of *apa* + √*sū* ‘to impel away.’ Gotō (1991: 692-697).

āheyam: Cf. Pāṇinī 4.3.56 *ḍṛtikukṣikaluśivastyastyaherdhañ*, which explains the affix *ḍhañ* (> -*yam*) with the sense of ‘what stays there’.

aṅgo aṇu: The opening – – ॐ ॐ is rare the RV, occurring only 179 x. If -o a-abhinihita sandhi is allowed, and -e a- re-introduced in *sarve brūta*, a better opening is obtained, – – ॐ –. However, in both cases, the cadence is uncommon – – – x (62x in RV. although with slightly higher frequency in PS). The sense of the passage is helped by the less common opening. Having *abrūta*, an imperfect following an aorist does not make much sense. An aorist – an action just performed – followed by an imperative, *brūta*, makes better sense. See also, ŚS 6.60.2ab *aṅgo anvaryāmann asyā*, – – – – | ॐ – – –. On *aṅga* + √*brū*, see ŚS 5.11.7, 9.9.5.

6. 6b An. Uncommon opening x ॐ ॐ –. 6c An. Uncommon cadence – – – x. 6d An. Uncommon opening x – ॐ ॐ.

triddhisi: *lectio difficilior*. I have translated a proposed reading *ṛṇeṣu*. ŚS 10.4.13 speaks of the different types of snakes being slain in the *darbha*-grass (*darbheṣu*). The PS verse suggests that the snakes, the unsplit ones (*achinnam*) are

slain in their home. In desert and savannah areas, snakes hide and live in whatever grassy areas may exist.

tripuṣi: *lectio difficilior*. This is probably a local name. The basic structure of the word, tri – √ – i indicates a locative. For example, *treliṅga/ triliṅga/ kaliṅga* is the name of Orissa, originally from Telegu, or *trigarta*, the name for Jammu. Tri- may be a Sankritization of non-IA *tə > tṛ > tri*. In the context of the hymn, with the preceding *tṛṇeṣu*, this could be another place where snakes live, perhaps the name of a tree. The Orissa manuscript reading *tripuṣi* could also be related to *tṛpu* ‘lead’ and also to *pūs* ‘cat’ in Muṇḍa, both of which are considered inauspicious.

7. 7a An. Rare cadence – u – x.

nākula: ‘belonging to *nakula*.’ *nakula* is identified as an ichneumon or mongoose. Ichneumon is the common name for several small carnivores of the family *Viverridae*. The true mongoose constitute genus *Herpestes*, which is found in Africa and Asia. The genus contains about 10 species including the ichneumon (*H. ichneumon*) of Africa and Southern Europe, and the Indian, or gray mongoose (*H. edwardsi* also known as *Ichneumon edwardsi*). The mongoose is known for attacking and killing the largest and most poisonous snakes by an agile avoidance of their strikes. They kill snakes by darting at their head and cracking the skull with a powerful bite. This is already known to the author of ŚS 6.139.5 *yāthā nakuló vichídya sám dadhāty áhim púnah* ‘As a mongoose, having cut apart (the snake),

again puts together the snake.’ See Prater (1965: 96-105) and <http://www.mv.com/ipusers/engel/Mongoose/Bottom.html>.

bheṣaja: The mongoose, including the Indian variety – our *nākula* – is not immune to the venom of snakes. However, they have a high resistance to the venom, being able to withstand several bites before dying from the effects of the poison. However, it is said in parts of South Asia, that a mongoose when bitten, eats a root or herb that counteracts the effects of the venom. In India, this root is known as *mangus wail*. MW list *nākulī* as “the ichneumon plant (supposed to furnish the ichneumon with an antidote when bitten by a snake).” See Prater (1964: 96-105).

Cf. ŚS 10.4.9. ŚS has *ṛścika*. It is possible to confuse -śca- and -kṣa- in copying from *G in Early Nāgarī to *D and *B, respectively. However, *ṛścika* ‘stinger’ does not make much sense here with *māmścatur*.

⁺**māmścatur**: This word is isolated in the RV. It is attested 3 times – 7.44.3, 9.97.52 and 9.97.54 – none of which, according to Mayrhofer, shed any light on the meaning of the word. This is probably a local name for a tree. A close example is *maskara* ‘bamboo’. Perhaps this tree is connected with remedy, which provides immunity from snake venom. Cf. *bheṣaja*, above.

8. Cf. ŚS 10.4.10 *aghāśvāsyedām bheṣajām ubhāyoḥ svajāsyā ca*. ‘This is the remedy of the ill-horse and of both (you) and the constrictor.’

The reading *śitasya* in all Orissa manuscripts is due to the confusion of ta and ja in Oriya script.

svaja: May refer here to a distinct aspect of snakes rather than to a ‘snake, viper’ in general. The term seems to be derived from *√svaj* ‘to embrace, umarmen.’ This suggests the general ability snakes to kill their prey by constrict their prey until they suffocate. This is part of the prey capturing behavior of most snakes – both venomous and non-venomous snakes. The strength of snakes’ venoms varies. Some types of venom only slow down prey while others kill it. *Svaja* fits well with other terms used in this hymn, as well as ŚS 10.4, that highlight particular aspects of snakes or particular types of snakes. *Svaja* can still be a venomous constrictor or a constrictor-looking snake (as in the case of Russell’s Viper the aim of the stanza is to make the venom of the *prḍaku* (or the black snake, perhaps a cobra) sapless. Cf. Zug (1993: 123-139) and Ernst and Zug (1996: 22-23).

Cf. ŚS 10.4 for more names of snakes (or aspects of snakes). These very specific terms for snakes must reflect Vedic people’s thorough knowledge of the behavior of snakes. Cf. n. 4 above.

9. Cf. ŚS 10.4.7.

10. Cf. ŚS 4.15.8.

10a An. Uncommon cadence – – – x.

Pāda a harkens back to stanza 5 regarding the wind blowing in the different directions. The ability of the horse and the *nākula* to diminish the power of the snake’s venom (to make it sapless) seems to be connected with the idea of scattering something (a substitute that has been identified with *rasa*) in different directions and thus weakening it.

1. Cf. ŚS 10.4.1.

lihna: This term is not found in our lexicons. If it is to be related to *lih* 'to lick', one could think of the flat part of the felloe/wheel, which 'licks' the ground as it moves forward crushing the snakes on its path. This part of the wheel could also be said to move quickly. The closest attestable form would be *līdha*. It is unlikely that *-hna* and *-dha* could have been confused at any stage of the written transmission. One could also think of *cīhna* 'mark, spot, sign,' especially on the chariot box (MHB +), but I don't think this helps the sense of the passage since *tena* already refers to the chariot, and it is not really the chariot-box that crushes the snakes as it drives quickly over them.

īyate: 'to drive quickly, schnell fahren.' See Hoffmann (1968b: 211).

ahinām_anaḥ: The manuscripts have preserved the syllabically restored form *ahināmanaḥ*. In *-an*, *-man*, and *-van* stems, following a heavy syllable, *-a-* must be restored when it precedes a case ending beginning with a vowel. See Arnold (1905: 88).

2. **dasyu:** This term is used in the RV as one of the most general ethnic and social categories. Usually, the opposition is made between *arya* and non-*arya*, the latter being described as *dāsa-s*, *dasyu-s* and *paṇi-s*. Old Persian inscriptions speak of the Dahi, a people of a province next to the Sakas. Greek and Latin sources also tell of Dahi in Margiana (Margiana). The Parnoi, formerly a tribe of the Dahi, lived along the Oxus river (modern Tedjen in Margiana). Parpola (1995, 1997) has suggested that these 'foreigners' may have been the first Indo-Aryan speakers who

later appear in the RV as the opponents of the R̥gvedic Aryans. He distinguishes waves in Indo-Aryans: (1) the Dāsas, from the Volga steppes at the end of the 3rd millennium BC; (2) The Sauma Aryans, possibly representatives of early Andronovo culture, may have conquered the Dāsas of Bactria and Margiana around 1800 BC. The culture resulting from the merging of Dāsas and Sauma, then split. One group moved westwards toward Northern Syria (become the eventual Mittanni rulers), while another group moved east toward Swat. These were the proto-R̥gvedic and proto-Dardic cultures. Older theories about invading armies of Indo-Aryans have given way to new, seemingly more probable explanations that focus on the gradual acculturation of Indo-Aryans and pre-existing cultures. Cf. Allchin (1995) and Bronkhorst and Deshpande (1999).

Vṛtra: In the RV, *vṛtra* is associated both with the resistance and enclosure of the waters that holds back the water necessary for life, as well as the dragon-demon who is killed by Indra. Already in RV 1.32.7, Vṛtra is described as *apād̐ ahastó* ‘without hands, without feet’. By the time of the AV, and certainly by the time of the present hymn, Vṛtra as the great *ahi* ‘snake’ has emerged. In 13.4.2 above, the connection between Vṛtra and *ahi* as snake is clear, as well as the image of Vṛtra as the progenitor of all snakes. Cf. Macdonell (1897).

parābhinaḥ: The expected form is *parābhinat*. Normally, the secondary 2nd sg. (-s) and 3rd sg. (-t) endings are regularly dropped when the root or stem ends in a consonant. However, there are instances where the final root or stem consonant is dropped instead, as for example AV 3.6.3 *abhanas* < **abha-na-k-s*. Macdonell

(1910: 61) quotes also the following: *ayās* < *a-yāj-s* in addition to *ayāt*, *srās* (AV) < *a-srāj-s*, and *asrat* (VS) < *a-sras-t*. Macdonell, following Whitney (1889: 509), notes that this is to normalize the terminations of the 2nd sg. in -s and 3rd sg. in -t. A similar process was also carried out in the Aorist-stem, i.e. 2nd sg. *agan* < *a-gam-s and 3rd sg. *agan* < *a-gam-t. See Macdonell (1910: 366-67).

3. 3c An. Rare cadence – ◡ – x. The resulting cadence is rare, regardless which vowels are restored. Restoring *paid_uvo* produces a rare cadence. Restoring *aś_uvo*, which is not common in the RV, produces a similarly rare cadence ◡ ◡ – x.

4. 4a An. Rare cadence – ◡ – x.

rajju <ṣ> śma datvatī: This old image of the snake as rope, in this case as a toothed rope or as a biting rope (ŚS 4.3.2, PS 2.8.2), was made famous by Śaṅkara in his commentary to the Vedānta Sūtras. In his discussion of *ādhyasā* ‘superimposition’, he discusses the image of the rope on the road that is mistaken for a snake. Cf. Vedāntasūtrabhāṣya 2.1-9.

5. 5d An. Rare opening – ◡ ◡ x.

bhavat: A properly formed injunctive from the present-stem. Hoffmann (1964: 150) notes “*bhavat* AV 10.8.22 (= AVP 16.102.9), 14.2.24 (= AVP 17.9.6) ist (fehlerhafter) Konjunktiv, entweder für *bhuvat* oder für *bhavāt*. *bhavan* AV 20.130.19 an ganz dunkler Stelle.” It seems unnecessary here to correct the text according to ‘proper Vedic grammar’ to reflect either an injunctive form or subjunctive. This type of pseudo-subjunctive reflects a peculiarity of AV tradition. Cf. also Oldenberg (1912) s.v. RV 9.59.4.

The emendation **vidhavā* greatly improves the meter, as well as the sense of the stanza. It is also possible to read *na indraṇī* **vidhavā abhavat*. However, I think the exhortative sense of the injunctive fits better with the surrounding present indicative context.

One is reminded of RV 10.86 and the exchange between Indrāṇī and Vṛṣākapi, in particular RV 10.86.11: *indrāṇīm āsū nāriṣu subhāgām ahām aśravam / nahy āsyā aparām canā jarāsā mārāte pātir viśvasmād indra úttarah* ‘Indrāṇī among women (has) a good share, I have heard. For not in her future, not even by old age will (her) husband die. Above all (is) Indra.’ RV 10.86 is a typical *saṃvāda* ‘dialogue’ hymn, which, according to Witzel (1997b: 390), “is an overt and explicit challenge to both Indra and his wife Indrāṇī, leveled at them by Vṛṣākapyī and her husband Vṛṣākāpi (‘bull monkey’), who has traditionally been understood as a male ape assaulting and maligning Indrāṇī.” The hymn has also been treated by Jamison (1996: 75-88) “as a mock-Aśvamedha: the elements of its “plot” can be correlated with portions of the ritual...In this interpretation Indra fills the role of king and Sacrificer, Indrāṇī of the Mahiṣī, and Vṛṣākapi of the horse/victim.” Cf. Doniger (1982: 257-264)

Our PS verse seems to speak of Indra’s (*tvām*) immortality and, thus, his immunity to the venom of the snake. The statement seems to be a type of formulaic truth-statement of Indrāṇī’s potential widowhood, the subject of the verse. Two truths are stated before the main subject of the verse: the agelessness of waters and *amṛta*. These two truths – the agelessness of the waters and of *amṛta* – are stated

before the subject of the verse in pāda b. These two factual statements are followed, in pāda cd, by yet another factual statement regarding Indra's immunity to the snake's venom. This statement is certainly not a classical *satyakriyā*, as discussed recently by Thompson (1998), but falls within a wider category of truth-spells. In our stanza, the declaratory aspect (a and cd) and the exhortative aspect are present. However, it lacks the *satyakriyā's* explicit declaration (*tena satyena*), which expresses the performative power of the very declaration.

6 Cf. ŚS 19.39.2.

6a An. Uncommon cadence – ∪ ∪ x. 6b An. Uncommon opening x – ∪ ∪.

6c An. Rare cadence – ∪ – x.

1 RV 1.94.1: *imám stómam árhate jātávedase rátham iva sám mahemā manīśáyā / bhadrá hí naḥ prámātir asya saṃsád; ágne sakhyé má riṣānmā vayám táva.*

Jātavedas: This epithet is applied over 120 times in the RV exclusively to Agni. The meaning of this epithet has been much discussed in the secondary literature. RV 6.15.13ab provides the clearest definition: *agnír hótā grhāpatiḥ sá rájā víśvā veda jānimā jātávedaḥ* ‘Agni (is) the Hotṛ. (He is) the lord of the house. He is the king. Jātaveda knows all generations.’

The image of the chariot was used, especially in the RV, as a poetic device. The chariot often represents the hymns of the poets, as well as the ritual. There are many examples in the RV where the chariot is used metaphorically. RV 8.3.15 *úd u tyé mādhumattamā gíra stómāsa irate / satrājīto dhanasá ákṣitotayo vājayānto ráthā iva* ‘These songs which possess the most sweetness, these hymns rise like ever-conquering, wealth-winning chariots which, racing, grant permanent help.’ Chariots as well as poems are said to be well-crafted, well-fashioned (*√takṣ*), for example RV 7.34.1. The image of the poet who yokes the horses to the chariot is also found in Yasna 50.7. In the RV, and even more so in later brāhmaṇa texts, the image of the chariot is used as a metaphor for the ritual, for example, see JB 1.135, KS 34.17:47.16. See Sparreboom (1985: 13-37).

sam mahema: Oldenberg (1909-12: 92) following Böhlingk-Roth wants to read *sam ahema* ‘to send forth’ < *sam √hi*: “nicht unbedingt sicher (vgl. VII, 2,3), aber, insonderheit im Hinblick auf *rátham iva*, recht wahrscheinlich.” However, this

seems unwarranted given the metaphorical use of chariot to represent speech and, more specifically, the hymn of praise or the ritual as whole. This has been pointed out by Geldner in his *Der Rigveda*, who translates ‘to perfect, to improve (upon), vervollkommen.’ Mayrhofer, following Gotō (1987: 242-284), translates ‘to bring about, zustande bringen’ for the active and ‘to be able to, imstande sein’ for the middle. Both interpretation of *sam mahema* ‘to give’ and ‘bring about’ fit into the context. See Mayrhofer *EWA* sub MAH. Cf. Jamison (1984: 80-81).

sakhye: In the ṚV, this term refers to not simply to a friendship, but to a comradeship in battle. This relationship is especially visible in the relationship of Indra and Viṣṇu. Viṣṇu is frequently allied with Indra in battle against Vṛtra with term *sakhi*, for example, ṚV 1.22.19, 1.154.11,

2 ṚV 1.94.2: *yásmāi t_uvám āyájase sá sādhat; anarvā kṣeti dádhate*
suvírjyam / sá tūtāva naímam ásnot; aṃhatír ágne sakhyé má riṣāmā vayám
táva.

aṃhati: Gonda (1968) has defined the term *aṃhas* as ‘distress caused by narrowness’. The related term *aṃhu* in ṚV 2.26.4cd *urusyátim aṃhaso rákṣatī riṣo aṃhós cid asmā urucákrir ádbhutaḥ* ‘He delivers him from the distress of narrowness. He protects from the injurer. Indeed, for him, he (Bṛhaspati) is the marvelous maker of wide (space) from narrowness,’ expresses the serious character of the distress inherent in the term. In AV, according to Gonda, the meaning of *aṃhas* is simply a general manifestation of evil against which one tries to protect oneself by means of amulets.

3 RV 1.94.4: *bhārāmedhmām kṛṇāvāmā havīṃsī te citáyantaḥ párvanā-parvanā vayām / jīvātave pratarām sādhayā dhíyo ágne sakhyé mǎ riṣāmā vayām táva.*

Citayantaḥ: Generally, this verb has the intransitive value ‘appear’. The intransitive/transitive value, according to Jamison (1993: 57, 74) “is the result of the falling together functionally with *cetati* ‘to take note of’.

4 RV 1.94.3: *śakéma tvā samídham sādhayā dhíyas t_uvé devā havír adant; āhutam / tvām ādityām ā vaha tán hí uśmās; ágne sakhyé mǎ riṣāmā vayām táva.*

As is well known the gods are rather different from humans and thus do not eat the same way. The gods smell the offering that is transubstantiated by the fire into *asu* and *medha*, as we are told in KĀ 2.43. See PS 14.3-4 below.

5 RV 1.94.6: *tvām adhvaryúr utá hótāsi purv_uyāḥ praśāstā pótā janúṣā puróhitaḥ / víśvā vidvām ārtvijyā dhūra puṣyas; ágne sakhyé mǎ riṣāmā vayām táva.*

These priests belong to the system enumerated in RV 2.1.2: *távāgne hotrām táva potrām ṛtvíyam táva neṣtrām t_uvām agníd ṛtáyāḥ / tava praśāstrām t_uvām adhvariṃyasi brahmá cāsi grhápatiś ca no dáme.* The *hotṛ*, ‘the offerer of the oblation,’ who belongs to RV, recites the mantras used to invoke the deity. The *potr* ‘the purifier’ recites the *yājñā-s* at the morning pressing. The *neṣṭṛ* ‘the leader’ assists the *hotṛ*, and has the special responsibility of leading the wife of the sacrificer as well as preparing *surā* (in the Vājapeya). The *āgnīdhra* is the priest who kindles the sacred fire. The *praśāṣṭṛ* ‘director’, also known as the Maitrāvaruṇa priest, is another assistant of the *hotṛ*. The *adhvaryu*, the priest of the YV, performs the

sacrifice on behalf of the sponsor of the sacrifice (*yajamāna*). The *brahman*, the priest of the AV, is required to know all four Vedas to fulfill his role as overseer of the sacrifice; it is he who has the knowledge of *prāyaścitta*-rites necessary to correct mistakes made during the sacrifice.

Although the *purohita* is not an officiating priest (*ṛtvij*), it seems that already in the late portions of the RV the role of the king's, or rather petty chieftain's, house-priest has been integrated into the priestly fold. Geldner (*Vedische Studien II*) already suggested that this very passage in the RV pointed to such a situation. Oldenberg (1897) disagrees. Taking into account the crucial role played by Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha in the 10 King's Battle, Geldner's conclusion seems warranted. The inclusion of this particular in hymn in the collection underline the Atharvavedins' effort to make their collection R̥gvedic-like. Analogizing of the *hotṛ* to the *purohita* simultaneously analogizes of the *hotṛ* to the *brahman* priest, and thus stressing the importance of the AV Brahman-priest as being "like a *hotṛ*." This fits with the general feeling expressed in later AV texts regarding the importance of the Brahman in the ritual as the priest who knows all Vedas. Interestingly enough, this hymn, which is not found in the Śaunaka collection, again seems to stress the concern of the Paippalādins with gaining access to the office of the *purohita*.

6 RV 1.94.5: *viśám̐ gopá asya caranti jantávo dvipác ca yád utá cátuṣpad aktúbhiḥ / citráḥ praketa uṣáso mahám̐ as; ágne sakhyé má̐ nṣāmā vayám̐ táva.*

citraḥ: All Orissa manuscripts have dropped the expected ḥ. If the archetype had ḥ/h/h, we would expect both branches of the tradition to have

represented these sounds. The Orissa branch normally uses only ḥ. What has happened in this instance? It seems that already by the time of *B, scribes no longer understood the sign for ḥ, and understood it as a correction mark (something being blotted out or scratched out, especially if *B was a palm-leaf manuscript). Although not conclusive, this example seems to point in direction of *G having had ḥ/ḥ/ḥ which were misinterpreted or misunderstood when copying of *D and *G. See above Chap. IVB.

diśām: Although the confusion of d and v is possible in Oriya, this mistake is rather unlikely in Śāradā and Early Nāgarī. Paleography cannot account for this reading in both traditions. Therefore, we must look at this variant as a significant change that reflects the outlook of PS. The “protector of the directions” may reflect the influence of the new Kuru Hegemony. The texts no longer reflect the concerns for the members of relatively small tribes (as does the ṚV), but rather an outlook that reflects the new expansionist vision of the hegemony and its aspiring *purohitas*. *diś* ‘directions’ reflect not only the expansion of the kingdom, particularly eastward, but may also the directions in which the horse of the Aśvamedha ritual roams. The horse must be guarded during its travels in all directions.

The pair *dvipād* and *catuspād* is derived from an IE “merism” that refers to moveable wealth, and means ‘useful men’ (slaves) and ‘cattle’, respectively. See Watkins (1995: 44-46).

7 ṚV 1.94.7: *yó viśvátaḥ suprátiḥkaḥ sadṛññ ási dūré cit sán talid iváti rocase / rátryās cid ándho áti deva paśyas; ágne sakhyé má riṣāmā vayám táva.*

8 RV 1.94.8: *pūrvo devā bhavatu sunvato rātho smākaṃ śāṃso abhi astu dūdhyaḥ / tād ā jānīta tā puṣyata vāco āgne sakhyé mā riṣāmā vayāṃ táva.*

Pūrvo devā bhavatu sunvato rathah: A reference to the chariot race that is a central motif of the classical Rājasūya, Áśvamedha and Vājapeya. Cf. Sparreboom (1985). This hymn aims to secure victory, in this instance, in the chariot race, for the *yajamāna*. An echo of an earlier agonistic ritual is found in this verse, which would be useful in representing Heesterman's pre-classical ritual whose locus must be the RV. As noted above, in RV *ratha* is often identified with *yajña* as well as poem..

9 RV 1.94.9: *vadhair duḥśāṃsāṃ āpa dūdhya jahi dūre vā yé ánti vā ké cid atrīṇaḥ / áthā yajñāya gṛṇatē sugāṃ kṛdh; āgne sakhyé mā riṣāmā vayāṃ táva.*

The weapons at the disposal of the priest, particularly the *purohita*, to strike down the 'magic' of other priests are the spells of the Atharvaveda. This type of magic can already be seen in certain hymns of the RV which highlight the antagonism between Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha that is central to the Battle of the 10 kings in the RV. Paippalāda collection, these types of charms aimed against the king's enemies are found especially in the collection of PS 10, which focuses on royal consecration. PS 10.1 *kaṇvā yā gardabhīva nibhasat sūkarīva / tasyai prati pra vartay taptam āsmānam āsani* 'the Kaṇvā sorceress who is like a she-ass, devours like a sow. Lead the consuming heat and stone to (her) mouth,' for example, deals with magic that will send or rather keep away, the evil sorcerer *kaṇvā*. Similarly PS 10.2.4, which focuses on the desire to beat the enemy, which

of course is a rival king or chieftain, usually a cousin: *bhrātrvyaś ca sapatnaś (saputras) ca yas tvāmitro (śattro) jighāṃsati / śriyaṃ tvaṃ sarveṣāṃ teṣāṃ ādāyogro vi dhāraya* '(Your) cousin and your rival, who is not your friend, desires to kill you. You, having taken the prosperity of all of them, strong one, uphold (the realm).'

Atrin: This term seems to be related to the proper name Atri, a Ṛgvedic clan, in a similar manner that *kaṇva* (< *kṛṇva*) 'sorcerer' is related to the proper name Kāṇva, a Ṛgvedic clan. Hoffmann (1940: 148-61) has discussed the developments, both linguistic and contextual, that have led to the abrupt change in meaning of the *kaṇva*. To summarize, *kaṇva* derives from a reconstructed form **kṛṇva*, which is not attested in ṚV, but can be seen in Old Persian *kṛnuvaka*-. The reconstructed form, however, is found in PS as hypercorrect form (See Introduction). The name Kaṇva is a present-stem formation from *√kr* 'to make'. Originally, *kaṇva* had several meanings in the ṚV: (1) a mythological figure, (2) the ancient progenitor of the clan, and (3) a member of the Kaṇva clan. In AV, *kaṇva* gains new meanings: 1. dead, taub, deaf; 2. praising, a praiser; 3. one who is to be praised. The association of *kaṇva* with 'to inflict, antun, to bewitch, verhexen' inherent in the IE root **√qʰer*.

A similar analysis is applicable to the pair *attrin: atri*. -tt- / -t- before -r are indistinguishable in pronunciation, cf. P 8.4.46. Like Kaṇva, Atri is one of the protégés of the Aśvins, cf. ṚV 1.118.7, as well as the name of family of poets.

Witzel (1997a: 292 n. 155) points out that the Atri poets are excluded from the post

Ṛgvedic *brahmán* poetical activity continued in the AV and that even later on the Atri's are despised. In the AV hymns themselves, Atri is still treated as a great hero. *atrín* appears in AV, as well as the ṚV, with the sense of 'eater, devourer'. Jamison (1991: 282-83) notes the possible synchronic relationship that would be apparent to Vedic speakers between the evil beings, *atrín*, and the hero Atri. She notes, however, that the negative 'devourer' characteristic is absent in the mythology of Atri.

10 ṚV 1.94.10: *yád áyukthā aruṣā́ róhitā ráthe vā́tajūtā vṛṣabhásyeva te rávaḥ / ád invasi vaníno dhūmáketunā ágne sakhyé má́ riṣāmā vayám táva..*

1. RV 1.94.11: *ádha svanád utá bibhyuḥ patatrīṇo drapsá yát te yavasádo vṛ ásthiran / sugám tát te tāvakébhyo ráthebhyo ágne sakhyé má ṛṣāmā vayám táva.*
2. RV 1.94.12: *ayám mitrásyā várūṇasyā dhāyase avayātām marútām hélo ádbhutaḥ / mṛṣá sú no bhūt, eṣām mánah púnar ágne sakhyé má ṛṣāmā vayám táva.*

***dhāyase:** The manuscript readings of dhāyasya are easily explained as having been influenced by two preceding G. s. *-asya*.

avayātām: Narten (1964: 209-212) discusses *vṛyā* 'to go along, dahinziehen' and notes the semantic split of this verb: 'yā 'dahinziehen' aktiv, yā 'bitten' aktive und medial.' Mayrhofer *EWA* lists two roots yā as above. Cf. also Werba (1997) s.v.

Oldenberg (1897: 113) suggests another possible reading for this verse, taking all the genitives together: 'He mysteriously turns away the anger of Mitra, Varuṇa and of the Maruts in order that (men) may get refreshing drink.'

3. RV 1.94.13: *devó devānām asi mitró ádbhuto vásur vásūnām asi cārur adhvaré / sárman syáma táva sapráthastame ágne sakhyé má ṛṣāmā vayám táva.*

The misreading in the Orissa manuscripts can be explained as copying mistake from *G > *B. Early forms of -va- and -ma- as well as -ba- (which is not used in most eastern scripts, [ba] ~ [va]) are easily confused. After reading *tama* for *tava*, the scribe(s) must have re-interpreted the -sa- of the following word as part of *tamas*. Cf. Bühler (1896).

Agni is frequently identified with Mitra and Varuṇa. For example RV 2.1.4ab *tvám agne rája varuṇo dhṛtávratas tvám mitró bhavasi dāsmá ídṛyah* ‘O Agni, you become King Varuṇa, whose authority is fixed. You become Mitra, extraordinary, to be praised.’ Cf. RV 3.5.4 and 7.12.3. The kindling of the fire is identified with Mitra: RV 5.3.1b *tvám mitró bhavasi yát sámiddhaḥ* ‘You (= Agni) become Mitra when kindled.’ In AV 13.3.13, Agni is identified with the rising sun in the morning as Mitra, and with Varuṇa in the evening: *sá varuṇaḥ sâyám ágnir bhavati sá mitró bhavati prātár udyān* ‘That one, Agni, becomes Varuṇa in the evening. That one becomes Mitra in the morning, rising.’ This identification is similar to the ideas expressed in the Agnihotra ritual in which the fire is identified with the sun and thus twice daily offerings to the fire are identified with sunrise and sunset. Especially important is the evening offering in the Agnihotra by which the fire, and thus the sun, is protected at night during the sun’s dangerous trip through the underworld. See Bodewitz (1976)

4 RV 1.94.14: *tát te bhadráṃ yát sámiddhaḥ své dāme sómāhuto járase mṛṇayáttamaḥ / dádhāsi rátnaṃ dráviṇaṃ ca dāsúṣe agne sakhyé má riṣāmā vayám táva.*

5 RV 1.94.15: *yásmai tvám sudraviṇo dádāso nāgāstvám adite sarvātātā / yám bhadreṇa sávasā codáyāsi prajāvatā rádhasā té syāma.*

Oldenberg (1897: 113) takes *aditi*, which can be either m. or f., as an epithet of Agni “with the evident allusion to the goddess Aditi, as granting freedom from bonds.” Cf. RV 4.1.20, 7.9.3, 9.19.14, and 10.92.14.

6 RV 1.94.16: *sá tvám agne saubhagatváśya vidvān asmákam áyuh prá tirehá
deva / tán no mitró váruṇo māmahantām áditiḥ síndhuḥ pṛthiví utá dyaúḥ.*

This verse is accented in Kā only.

This is the normal refrain of hymns composed by Kutsa Āṅgīrasa. The Kutsa Āṅgīrasa collection in the RV opens with RV 1.91 and ends with 1.115.

1. 1d Tr. Uncommon opening x u u –.

Parpola (1985: 39-40) identifies Varuṇa's "cloth of ghee" and other references to "fatty garments" with rain and rain clouds. The texts also speak of Varuṇa's "golden garment" (RV 1.125.13), which Bergaigne identifies with the waters that are rendered golden by the sun. Parpola suggests that this was not the only model for Varuṇa's shinning dress. He links the golden garment to the night sky, which is speckled with stars, which are Varuṇa's spies.

RV 5.63.6 identifies the garment of the Maruts as rain clouds.

2. The 'common garment' brings to mind the idea expressed in the Upaniṣads regarding 'that upon which all this is woven, warp and woof' in the famous series of question by Gargī in BAU 3.6. The underlying idea is that of a garment on which all the elements of the universe – water, air, intermediate space, sun, moon, etc. – are woven upon. The garment is expressed by the term *ota* and *prota*, which refer to the back and forth movement of the shuttle in front of the weaver. Cf. Rau (1970).

5. The use of *prchāmi tvā* marks a shift in style. As noted in the introduction this hymn, *prchami tvā* highlights the agonistic feature of *brahmodya-s*.

On constructions of the type **satyasya satyam** 'quintessential truth,' see Oertel (1937).

6. 6ab has three extra syllables. *ya asan* at the end of b seems superfluous. If these two word were to be taken out and the pāda break restored after *nāmāni* (as

indicated in Mā_{1C}), we would have three triṣṭubh pāda-s, Virāj meter according to the RV Prātiśākhya.

sarpāṇām devajanā: In ŚS 3.27 = PS 3.11, particular snakes are associated with specific directions and specific deities:

East	Agni	Asita
South	Indra	Tiraścīrāji
West	Varuṇa	Ṗṛdāku
North	Soma	Kalmāṣigrīva

The connection of snakes with *āditya-s/deva-s* can also be seen in the list of the performers of the *sarpasattra* in PB 25 by mean of which snakes (*sarpa*) reach heaven and become *deva-s*. The same list, more or less, appears again in the *sarpasattra* of Janamejaya in the opening of the Mahābharāta. Such a link establishes an interesting genealogy from the distant past to the present (as we are all descendents of the Kuru-s in some way): Nāga-s ↔ Āditya-s/Deva-s → Kaurava-s (semi-divine) → present generations. See PS 13.8.1n below. Cf. Vogel (1926), Minkowski (1981, 1991). On *ṛdaku*, see PS 13.3.4n above.

brūhi nas tat: Along with *ṛchāmi tvā*, this phrase further highlights the overtly aggressive nature of this *brahmodya*, which is maintained throughout the rest of the hymn.

7. 7c An. Uncommon opening x u u –.

Rohita: In AV 13, *rohita* represents the sun-god as the creator-preserver of the universe as well as an earthly king. Witzel (1997a) has noted that that *rohita* is particularly connected to the victorious aspect of the ‘Red sun/dawn’ as can be seen by the constant connection with *varcas* (cf. PS 14.8.4n) and *rāṣṭra* (cf. PS 14.2.3n).

Cf. PS 13.1.2n on *suvāṇa*. The inclusion of such a collection of hymns in AV points to the important relationship between Atharvavedin priests and the ruling clan – the Kurus, at the time of the redaction of the AV saṃhitā-s.

The repetition of the sound -roh in pāda ab in association with the verb *√ruh* ‘to climb,’ seem to place the emphasis on Rohita as the sun rather than as the earthly king.

8. 8d An. Uncommon opening x u u –.

This verse is an interesting riddle referring to RV 10.90.4: *tripād ūrdhvā úd ait pūruṣaḥ pādo 'syehābhavat pūnaḥ / tāto viśvaṁ vī akrāmat sāsānānaśané abhi* ‘Three-quarters of (the sacrificial) man went upward. One quarter of him was here still. From that, he strode widely in all directions towards what eats and does not eat.’ The fourth part which steps beyond his greatness, the three quarters that went upwards must have been offered by the Sādhyā-s and seers in RV 10.90.7. The author of the hymn seems to have conflated the motif of the four quarters (of *puruṣa*) with *vikrām* ‘wide-striding’ motif, which is connected with Viṣṇu, already in the RV. His first two steps are said to be visible to humans, but his third step is beyond even the flight of birds. See RV 1.155.5, 7.99.2. Cf. Thompson (1995).

What do the poets protect? For their employer, they protect the prosperity of the kingdom by means of the correct performance of ritual. For themselves, poets, they protect sacred speech (Vāc, three quarters of whom is also said to be beyond this word).

The use of *sākṣāt* ‘in front of my eyes’ is interesting in the context of a *brahmodya* where the answers as supposed to be hidden.

tāni vettha highlights the over challenge expressed in this hymn.

9. The verse shows a shift in the typical *brahmodya*-pattern from an interrogative pronoun sequence to a relative pronoun sequence, for example RV 1.164.49. On the variations in *brahmodya-s*, see Thompson (1995).

The stanza ends with the most direct and aggressive challenge in the *brahmodya*-sequence thus far with the phrase *taṁ naḥ brūhi yadi taṁ pravettha* ‘Tell us that if you know that!’

In AV, Indra is associated with agriculture. ŚS 6.30.1 describes the gods growing barley along the Sarasvatī on behalf of Manu. Indra is called *sīrapati* ‘lord of the plow’ and the Maruts are referred to as *kīnāśa* ‘cultivators of the soil’. This verse refers to the association, especially in the ritual texts, of the Maruts with Indra. The Maruts, regarded as *devānām viśaḥ* ‘people of the gods’, have the function of the Vaiśya-s in the heavenly counterpart of the earthly *varṇa* system: *brāhmaṇa-s* (priest~Agni), *kṣatriya-s* (warrior~Indra) and *vaiśya-s* (people~Maruts). On one level, this reflects the very real link between kingly power and popular support. This is also reflected in ritual, which aim at securing the support of the *viś*~Maruts. In the mythological realm, of course, the Maruts are closely connected with Indra, often referred to as *sakhi-s* ‘comrades (in battle)’ of Indra. They help Indra in several dragon-slaying acts in the RV including the slaying of Vṛtra and the fight with Śambara. See Macdonell (1897), and Hillebrandt (1880).

***śísāti:** This reconstruction retains many of the aspects which the manuscripts have preserved. All manuscripts agree that the first syllable is śi and second is [s]i, where s is ś/ś/s. The uncertainty about ś/ś/s is due to the typical North Indian confusion of sibilants. The -t- in Pā_c and Gu_c is due to the confusion between -t- and -ś- in writing, which is prominent in modern Oriya script. The reading produces an opening with low frequency, 437 x in the RV. None of the other possible reconstructions – *śusāva*, *śāsau* – produces a better meter or sense.

10. Pāda see is an approximate quotation of RV 1.164.34b.

1. Cf. ŚS 1.2.8

1e Tr. Rare cadence 0 – – x.

A slight variation on the formulaic pattern: *prchāmi tvā* follows rather than precedes the challenge formula, *tān naḥ prabrūhi yadi tān pravettha*. It may be that when the two formulas share the context, *prchāmi tvā* is superseded by the stronger, more overtly challenging formula.

Snakes, like birds, stand in a special relationship to human beings. This is not too difficult to imagine, as birds, snakes, and humans are twice born (*dvija*), and a family relationship among the three is already mentioned in ŚB 2.5.1.1. PB 25.15 speaks about how the snakes were able to gain a firm support (heaven) and vanquish death by means of the ritual: *etena vai sarpā eṣu lokeṣu pratyatiṣṭhann eṣu lokeṣu pratiṣṭhanti ya etad upayanti* 'Indeed, by means of that (sacrifice), the snakes gained firm support in these worlds. (Those) who undertake that (sacrifice) gain firm support in these worlds.' The text identifies the Āditya-s with the snakes: *etena vai sarpā apa mṛtyum jayann apa mṛtyum jayanti ya etad upayanti. tasmāt te hinvā jīṛṇāṃ tvacam atisarpanty apa hi te mṛtyum jayan sarpā vā ādityā* 'Indeed, by means of that (sacrifice), the snakes conquered death. Those who perform this (sacrifice) conquer death. Therefore, having left their skin, they creep over, for they conquered death. Indeed, the Āditya-s are the snakes.' Thus, snakes are in a god-like relationship to humans since humanity originates from Vivasvant, one of the Ādityas. Later Buddhist and Hindu texts such as the Mahābhārata and Nīlamāta Purāṇa of Kashmir speak of the blissful netherworld (*pātāla*) where snakes live. Several lineages in these and other text show the close relationship of humans and

snakes; one need only recall the names of snakes at Janamejaya's sacrifice among which was included Dhṛtarāṣṭra. A similar picture is offered by the Gser Lin saga of Tibet where the semi-divine hero of the epic is born from a *nāgiṇī*. See Vogel (1926), Minkowski (1989, 1991). See PS 13.7.2n above.

2 2c An. Uncommon cadence – – ∪ x.

This verse reminds one immediately of the upaniṣadic discussions about the nature of *ātman*. BAU 5.5.2: *ya eṣa etasmin maṇḍale puruṣo yaś cāyaṃ dakṣiṇe 'kṣan puruṣas tāv etāvanyo' anyasmin pratitiṣṭhitau* 'That one who is the man in that circle, and the man in this right eye, those two are established on one another.' An alternate reading: 'the one who is asleep goes together with sleep, [who] is grasping the limbs.'

**sviḍ eti*: Thompson (1997) has discussed the use of *sviḍ* in the context of riddling-*brahmodya* patterns. He concludes that although not a definite marker of *brahmodya-s*, it can be considered an emphatic marker. Furthermore, *sviḍ*, in the context of *brahmodya-s*, seems to strengthen the accompanying interrogative pronoun and thus mark the concluding member of an interrogation sequence. In our hymn, where *kvā sviḍ* occurs in pāda 2d, it would seem that *sviḍ* acts as a marker for the end of a question – a single question in this case – where an simple answer could be given. That answer, as Thompson, points out could begin with the correlative answer element *sá* (although, of course, in our hymn we are not given answers). Interestingly, PS 13.2–4 are also stanzas that contain a series of statements followed by a question in pāda c – all of which could begin with a form

of *sá* as the correlative answer element. In PS 13.7, as well as PS 13.8.1, there are a series of questions contained in each stanza.

In the Orissa manuscripts, the variant °da° and °va° can be understood as a writing mistake in Oriya script, -va- ~ -da-. That mistake arose because **svi*d was interpreted as **savi*d. This tendency to insert a vowel in clusters -sr- and -sv- has already been noted by Witzel (1985b). Once the cluster was split, the confusion va ~ da can easily arise. PSK *srj* can be similarly explained. However, in the Kashmiri transmission of the error must go back already to *D, since -sv- and -sṛ- are nearly indistinguishable in Early Nāgarī – the only difference being that the -v- is represented by a small loop below s, whereas -ṛ- is represented by a small hook opening to the right. If the loop of the -v is not completely closed, it can be easily mistaken for -ṛ. Similarly, -de- and -je- could again be confused in Early Nāgarī, especially if the middle horizontal stroke of -j- is not clearly written.

3 3a An. Rare opening x ∪ ∪ ∪. 3b An. Uncommon opening x ∪ ∪ –. 3c An. Uncommon cadence – – – x.

On honey, bees, and *amṛta*, see PS 14.1.6n above.

On *vrata*, see Brereton (1981: 78), who translates *vrata* as commandment or authority. I use the latter as to avoid any possible Judeo-Christian connotation of the ‘written commandments’ that might be expressed by the term.

4. 4d An. Uncommon cadence – – – x. 4e Tr. Uncommon opening x ∪ – –. Caesura falls after the 3rd syllable or after the 5th, within a compounded word. Caesura after the 5th produces an uncommon break – | ∪ –.

5. 5d: If this pāda is counted as Jagatī, it produces a non-existent cadence – ∪ – – x. If counted as a hypersyllabic triṣṭubh, cf. Arnold (1095: 197–8), also produces an uncommon cadence ∪ – – x.

The meter of several verses in this hymn (PS 14.7-8) becomes less strict toward the end of the hymn(s). Note the verse 13.7.7-8 as well PS 13.8.2–5. The increase in rare opening and cadences seems to be due to the influence of the following section, PS 14.9, which is in prose. In Kā, these three sections (13.7, 13.8 & 13.9) are all contained in a single hymn, PS 13.14. The mixture of metrical text and prose in this *brahmodya* type hymn seems to support, to some degree, Thompson assumption of “a broad range of coexisting *brahmodya* styles, ranging from a terse, rigid, metrical type to a less structured or prose type.” (Thompson 1997: 24). On a similar pattern of mixed meter, see Witzel (1997b: 398–400).

4. The two **kapāla-s** must be two halves of the shell of an egg, which became Heaven and Earth. Both half are simultaneously addressed as *svadhiṣṭhānā* and *svadhicaraṇā*. The order of address reveals that heaven is ‘one who has a good standing place’ while earth is ‘the one who is good to walk upon’, in the order of the compound *dyāvāpṛthivī*. Neither of these two descriptive terms for heaven and earth is found in the neither ṚV nor ŚS.
5. Creation of the wide world fits nicely with the idea expressed in ṚV 10.90.4 that from the quarter of *puruṣa* that remained spread out in all directions. Like ṚV 10.90 the sun was produced from *puruṣa*’s eye. This theme is connected to the theme of the quarters of *puruṣa* (or Vāc, which the poets protect) in PS 13.7.8.
6. On Virāj, see below, PS 14.5.8n.

¹ om̐ ²	
indro ³ bāhubhyā ⁴ abharac ⁵ cikitvān ⁶ [] apo ⁷ devī ⁸ varuṇāya ⁹	
prajānan ¹⁰ ¹¹	11-11
tam ādityā ¹² abhyaṣiṅcanta ¹³ sarve [] rājānam ¹⁴ ugraṃ ¹⁵ bṛhate ¹⁶	
raṇāya ¹⁷	11-11
tā na ¹⁸ āpo ¹⁹ rājasūyā avantu ²⁰ 1 ²¹	11

¹ = PSK 14.1.1

² Mā_{1c}: om̐ srī kṛṣṇaḥ śaraṇam; Gu_c: om.; Bh: omits om̐ but notes that all his manuscripts begin the kāṇḍa with either om̐ or śrī.

³ Mā_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: endro; Bh: endro

⁴ Kā: bāhumbhyām

⁵ Kā: abhīrīṣ; Pa_c, Gu_c: abhara

⁶ Ma_{2c}: cikitvām

⁷ Kā: āpo

⁸ Kā: devī

⁹ Mā_{1c}, Gu_c: varuṇāya

¹⁰ Kā: prajānman.

¹¹ Kā: om. |

¹² Kā: ādityā-

¹³ Kā: -abhyaṣicyantu; Ma_{1c}: abhyaṣiṅcantu

¹⁴ Pa_c: rājānam

¹⁵ Pa_c: ugra

¹⁶ Kā: vṛhate

¹⁷ Kā: |

¹⁸ Kā: na-

¹⁹ Kā: -āpo

²⁰ Kā: vasantu

²¹ Kā: |

²²⁺ hiranyavarṇās ²³ [⁺ sucayaḥ ²⁴ pāvaka ²⁵] yāsu ⁺ jātaḥ ²⁶ kaśyapo ²⁷ yāsv indraḥ	11-11
yā agniṃ ²⁸ garbhaṃ dadhire suvarṇās ²⁹ tā na ⁺ āpaś ³⁰ śaṃ ³¹ s;yonā ³² bhavantu 2	11-11
³³ yāsāṃ rājā varuṇo ³⁴ yāti ³⁵ madhye satyānr̥te ³⁶ avapaśyañ ³⁷ janānām	11-11
yā agniṃ ³⁸ garbhaṃ dadhire suvarṇās tā na āpaś śaṃ ³⁹ s;yonā bhavantu 3	11-11

²² = PSK 14.1.2 = PSK 1.25.1

²³ PS 14.2-5 = PS 1.25.1-4. Kā: om̐ hiranyavarṇā catasraḥ ṛ4 paṭhet; Mā_{1c},
Ma_{2c}, Gu_c: hiranyavarṇā itī catasraḥ; Gu_c: provides the text of PS 14.2-5.

²⁴ Bhattacharya notes no variant in Kā; Gu_c: sucayaḥ

²⁵ Kā: pāvaka

²⁶ Gu_c: yāta; Vā: yātaḥ

²⁷ Gu_c: kaśyopa

²⁸ Ja: 'gniṃ; Gu_c: agni

²⁹ Gu_c: suvarṇās

³⁰ Gu_c: āpaḥ; Vā nāpaḥ

³¹ Kā: śaṃ; Gu_c: saṃ; Ja, Ma, Vā: śyaṃ

³² Gu_c: śyonā

³³ = PSK 14.1.3 = PSK 1.25.2

³⁴ Gu_c: varṇo

³⁵ Kā: yātu

³⁶ Gu_c: satyānr̥tye

³⁷ Gu_c: abapaśyañ; Ja, Vā: avapaśyaṃ

³⁸ Kā: agniṃ

³⁹ Kā: śaṃ

⁴⁰ yāsāṃ devā divi kṛṇvanti bhakṣaṃ [] yā antarikṣe bahudhā bhavanti	11-11
yā agniṃ garbhaṃ dadhire suvarṇās [] tā na āpaś śaṃ ⁴¹ s _i yonā bhavantu 4	11-11
⁴² śivena mā cakṣuṣā ⁺ paśyatāpaś ⁴³ [] śivayā tanvopa spṛśata ⁴⁴ tvacaṃ me	11-12
⁺ ghṛtaścutaś ⁴⁵ śucayo ⁺ yaḥ ⁴⁶ pāvakaś [] tā na āpaś śaṃ ⁴⁷ s _i yonā ⁴⁸ bhavantu] 5	11-11

⁴⁰ = PSK 14.1.4 = PSK 1.25.3

⁴¹ Kā: śaṃ

⁴² = PSK 14.1.5 = PSK 1.25.4

⁴³ Kā, Mā, Ma, Ja, Vā: Gu_c: paśyatāpaḥ

⁴⁴ Gu_c: spṛśata

⁴⁵ Gu_c: ghṛtaścutaḥ; Ma_c, Ja: ghṛtaścyutaḥ

⁴⁶ Kā, Ja, Ma_c, Vā: yaḥ

⁴⁷ Gu_c: saṃ; Ja, Vā: śyaṃ

⁴⁸ Gu_c: śyonā

⁴⁹ āpo ⁵⁰ devī ⁵¹ madhumatīr agr̥hṇat _a ⁵² + -arjasvatī ⁵³ rājasūyā ⁵⁴ mayobhuvah ⁵⁵	12-12
yābhir mitrāvaruṇāv ⁵⁶ abhyaṣiṇcan ⁵⁷ tā ⁵⁸ [na āpo rājasūya avantu] 6 ⁵⁹	11-11
⁶⁰ varuṇena ⁶¹ preṣitā yanti ⁶² śubhrā ⁶³ utsam ⁶⁴ devīr dadhate ⁶⁵ yā ⁶⁶ hiraṇyam ⁶⁷ ⁶⁸	11-11
yā brahmaṇā ⁶⁹ punate ⁷⁰ samvidānās ⁷¹ tā ⁷² [na āpo rājasūya avantu] 7	11-11

⁴⁹ = PSK 14.1.6

⁵⁰ Kā: apo; Gu_c: apor

⁵¹ Gu_c: devī

⁵² Kā: gr̥bhū-; Mā_{1c}: agr̥hṇanota

⁵³ Kā: -ūrjvājsvatī; Mā_{1c}: rjasvatī; Ma_{2c}, Gu_c: -ūrjasyatī

⁵⁴ Kā: rājasūryā

⁵⁵ Kā: om. |

⁵⁶ Kā: mittrāvaruṇa; Mā_{1c}, Gu_c: mitrāvaruṇāv

⁵⁷ Kā: abhyaṣicyan; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: abhyaṣiṇcam

⁵⁸ Kā: tā |; Mā_{1c}: tā ||; Ma_{2c}: tāḥ ||; Pa_c: tā na; Gu_c: tā naḥ āpo rājasūya
avantu |

⁵⁹ Kā: |

⁶⁰ = PSK 14.1.7

⁶¹ Kā: varuṇonena; Mā_{1c}, Gu_c: varuṇena

⁶² Kā: yaṃtu

⁶³ Kā: śukrāḥ; Ma_{2c}: śabhrā

⁶⁴ Mā_{1c}: uccha; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: ucchan

⁶⁵ Gu_c: dadhata

⁶⁶ Kā: ā

⁶⁷ Ma_{1c}: hiraṇyan; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: hiraṇyayan; Bh: [†]hiraṇyayam

⁶⁸ Kā: om. |

⁶⁹ Kā: vrahmaṇā-

⁷⁰ Kā: -āpnute

⁷¹ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: samvidānās

⁷² Kā: tā |; Mā_{1c}: tā naḥ ||; Ma_{2c}: tāḥ ||; Pa_c: tā na; Gu_c: tā naḥ āpo rājasūya
avantu |

⁷³ apas ⁷⁴ samudrā ⁷⁵ divam udvahanti ⁷⁶ divas pṛthivīm abhi yās ⁷⁷ sṛjanti	11-11
yābhir ⁷⁸ īśānā ⁷⁹ marutaś ⁸⁰ caranti tā ⁸¹ [na āpo rājasūya avantu] 8 ⁸²	11-11
⁸³ yā ⁸⁴ amṛtaṃ ⁸⁵ bibhrati ⁸⁶ yā madhu priyaṃ yā ⁸⁷ agr̥hṇan ⁸⁸ ṛṣayo ⁸⁹ devasakhye ⁹⁰	12-11
yābhir indram aty ⁹¹ anayann ⁹² arātīś ⁹³ tā ⁹⁴ [na āpo rājasūya avantu] 9	11-11

⁷³ = PSK 14.1.8

⁷⁴ Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: apaḥ

⁷⁵ Kā: samudrā

⁷⁶ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: uvdahanti

⁷⁷ Kā, Gu_c: yā; Mā_{2c}, Ma_{1c}, Pa_c: yāḥ

⁷⁸ Kā: yadbhir

⁷⁹ Pa_c: īśāno

⁸⁰ Mā_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: marutaś

⁸¹ Kā: tā |; Mā_{1c}: tāḥ ||; Ma_{2c}: tāḥ ||; Pa_c: tā na; Gu_c: tā naḥ āpo rājasuyā
avantu |

⁸² Kā: z

⁸³ = PSK 14.1.9

⁸⁴ Kā: yā-

⁸⁵ Kā: -amṛtaṃ

⁸⁶ Kā: tibhrataṃ

⁸⁷ Kā, Mā_{1c}: yā-

⁸⁸ Kā: -agr̥bhṇam; Mā_{1c}: -agr̥hṇan\; Ma_{2c}: unclear, agr̥bhṇan\; the scribe of
Ma₂ has corrected the reading underneath the -bhṇ- akṣara by writing hṇ;
Bh: +agr̥bhṇan\ Bhattacharya reads gr̥bhra(← hṇ)n\ in his apparatus and
notes that Mā₁ reads gr̥hṇam.

⁸⁹ Ma_{2c}: ruṣayo

⁹⁰ Kā: om. |

⁹¹ Kā: abhra

⁹² Kā: nay

⁹³ Pa_c: arātīś

⁹⁴ Kā: tā |; Ma_{2c}: tāḥ ||; Pa_c: tā na; Gu_c: tā naḥ āpo rājasuyā avantu |

⁹⁵yā jīvadhanya⁹⁶ dhanam⁹⁷ ut ⁹⁸pṛṇanti⁹⁹ || devāyate dāśuṣe¹⁰⁰
 martīyāya¹⁰¹ |¹⁰²
 yāsām payo akṣitam¹⁰³ akṣitānām¹⁰⁴ | tā¹⁰⁵ [na āpo rājasūya
 avantu] ||10||

11-11

11-11

⁹⁵ = PSK 14.1.10

⁹⁶ Kā: jīvayanyā

⁹⁷ Kā: dhanar

⁹⁸ Kā: dhatu; Pa_c: ut_i

⁹⁹ Kā: praṇayanti

¹⁰⁰ Kā: dāśuṣe; Gu_c: dāśuse

¹⁰¹ Gu_c: martāya

¹⁰² Kā: om. |

¹⁰³ Kā: akṣatam

¹⁰⁴ Kā: akṣatānām

¹⁰⁵ Kā: tā |; Ma_{2c}: tāḥ ||; Pa_c: tā na; Gu_c: tā naḥ āpo rājasuyā avantu |

¹ hiranyaupaśā ² + dhvajaniḥ ³ punānā yās ⁴ samudram ⁵ abhiy arcanti dhenavaḥ ⁶ ⁷	11-12
yāḥ ⁸ parjanya vahat; ⁹ antarikṣe ¹⁰ tā ¹¹ [na āpo rājasūyā avantu] 1	11-11
¹² rathantare bṛhati ¹³ gīyamāne kṣatram ¹⁴ jinvanti pra tiranti; ¹⁵ āyuh ¹⁶	11-11
yābhis ¹⁷ trayān ¹⁸ vājino ¹⁹ vājayanti ²⁰ tā ²¹ [na āpo rājasūyā avantu] 2	11-11

¹ = PSK 14.1.11

² Kā: hiraṇyuāpāśā. Manuscript has a wedge attached to the lower portion of -y- which would seem to indicate -u-. However, the size of the wedge is unusually large - it seems that perhaps the scribe was trying to scratch out the -u-. Bṛ: hiraṇyapāśā; Mā_{1c}: hiraṇyaupāśā; Pa_c: hiraṇyaupaśā; Gu_c: hiraṇyaupasa

³ Kā: dhvajaniyaḥ; Mā_{1c}: dhvajaniḥ; Bh: dhvajaniḥ

⁴ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: yāḥ

⁵ Pa_c, Gu_c: samudrām

⁶ Kā: dhenavaḥ

⁷ Kā: om. |

⁸ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: yāḥ; Gu_c: yā

⁹ Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: vṛhaty

¹⁰ Gu_c: antarikṣo

¹¹ Kā: tā z; Ma_{2c}: tāḥ ||; Pa_c: tā na; Gu_c: tā naḥ āpo rājasuyā avantu |

¹² = PSK 14.1.12

¹³ Kā: vṛhada; Gu_c: bṛhati

¹⁴ Kā: kṣatram; Mā_{1c}, Pa_c: kṣetram; Ma_{2c}: kṣatra. To the left of kṣ- there is what seems to be an -e-which has been crossed out. Bhattacharya notes

kṣa(←kṣe)tram; Gu_c: kṣetra

¹⁵ Kā: tiranta

¹⁶ Kā: om. |

¹⁷ Pa_c, Gu_c: yābhir

¹⁸ Kā, Mā_{1c}: triyān; Ma_{2c}: trayām

¹⁹ Pa_c: vādino

²⁰ Kā: vājyantvi

²¹ Kā: tā z; Ma_{2c}: tāḥ ||; Pa_c: tā na; Gu_c: tā naḥ āpo rājasuyā avantu |

²²yābhis²³ saha²⁴ vṛtrahā²⁵ somam indro || vasor Isāno apibat²⁶
sutasya | 11-11
²⁷yās²⁷ sapta ṛṣayah²⁸ kavayah²⁹ punanti || tā³⁰ [na āpo rājasūyā
avantu] ||3| 11-11

³¹sapta ṛṣayo³² bharatam³³ abhy aṣiñcann || asmin³⁴ rāṣṭram³⁵
adadhur³⁶ \dakṣiṇāvat³⁷ |³⁸ 11-11
³⁹prajāyai³⁹ manum⁴⁰ + asuvanta⁴¹ devās | tā⁴² [na āpo rājasūyā
avantu] ||4|| 11-11

²² = PSK 14.1.13

²³ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: yābhiḥ

²⁴ Kā: saha

²⁵ Kā: vṛttrahā

²⁶ Kā: pivat; Pa_c: apibat

²⁷ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: yāḥ

²⁸ Mā_{1c}, Pa_c: ṛṣayah; Ma_{2c}: ruṣayah; Gu_c: ṛṣayo

²⁹ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: kavayah

³⁰ Kā: tās; Ma_{2c}: tāḥ ||; Pa_c: tā na; Gu_c: tā naḥ āpo rājasuyā avantu |

³¹ = PSK 14.1.14

³² Ma_{2c}: ruṣayo

³³ Kā: bharatham

³⁴ Kā, Ma_{2c}, Gu_c: āsmin

³⁵ Gu_c: nāṣṭram

³⁶ Kā: adbhir

³⁷ Gu_c: dakṣiṇāvata

³⁸ Kā: om. |

³⁹ Kā: prajā

⁴⁰ Kā: imaṃs

⁴¹ Kā: asumanta; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}: asumavanta; Pa_c: avanta; Gu_c: asumavanta;

Bh: asumavanta

⁴² Kā: tāḥ z; Ma_{2c}: tāḥ ||; Pa_c: tā na; Gu_c: tā naḥ āpo rājasuyā avantu |

⁴³ yābhir yajñam prāñcam ukṣanti ⁴⁴ dhīrā ⁴⁵ yābhis ⁴⁶ somam ⁴⁷ madhupṛcam punanti	11-11
yābhir idam jīvati viśvam ejat ⁴⁸ tā ⁴⁹ [na āpo rājasūyā avantu] 5	11-11
⁵⁰ yāsām ⁵¹ stokā madhumayā babhūvur ⁵² ghṛtam saṃjñānam madhu pinvate ⁵³ yāh ⁵⁴	11-11
yās ⁵⁵ soma ⁵⁶ + āpaḥ ⁵⁷ praṇayanti ⁵⁸ brahmaṇā ⁵⁹ tā ⁵⁸ [na āpo rājasūyā avantu] 6	12-11

⁴³ = PSk 14.1.15

⁴⁴ Kā: ukham ca; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Gu_c: ukṣyanti; Bh: *ukṣyanti

⁴⁵ Mā_{1c}: devā

⁴⁶ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: yabhiḥ

⁴⁷ Kā: soma

⁴⁸ Mā_{1c}: ejat

⁴⁹ Kā: tāḥ z; Ma_{2c}: tāḥ ||; Pa_c: tā na; Gu_c: tā naḥ āpo rājasuyā avantu |

⁵⁰ = PSK 14.1.16

⁵¹ Ma_{2c}, Gu_c, Pa_c: yās tām

⁵² Kā: pin?vate

⁵³ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Gu_c, Pa_c: jāḥ

⁵⁴ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}: yāḥ; Pa_c, Gu_c: yā

⁵⁵ Kā: somā-

⁵⁶ Kā: -āpaḥ; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: āpaḥ

⁵⁷ Kā: praṇayantu

⁵⁸ Kā: thāḥ z; Ma_{2c}: tāḥ ||; Pa_c: tā na; Gu_c: tā naḥ āpo rājasuyā avantu |

⁵⁹ Kā: z

⁶⁰ yāsāṃ pador ājīyaṃ ⁶¹ vājinaṃ ⁶² ca ⁶³ somasya prasavam anu yāḥ ⁶⁴ pavante ⁶⁵ ⁶⁶	11-12
antarvatī taruṇavatsā ⁶⁷ ghṛtācī tā ⁶⁸ na āpo ⁶⁹ rājasūyā ⁷⁰ avantu ⁷¹ 7	12-11
⁷² ajījananta ⁷³ + matayas ⁷⁴ s _u varvida ⁷⁵ ā ⁷⁶ brahmaṇā sūktadheyāṇi ⁷⁷ aguḥ ⁷⁸	12-11
+ asuṣvata ⁷⁹ rājasūyāḥ ⁸⁰ pāyāṃsi ⁸¹ prāsāvid ⁸² + devas ⁸³ savitā bhuvanāni viśvā 8 ⁸⁴	11-14

⁶⁰ = PSK 14.1.17

⁶¹ Kā: ārajyaṃ

⁶² Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Gu_c, Pa_c: vājinaṃ

⁶³ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: ca

⁶⁴ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Gu_c: yāḥ; Pa_c: yā

⁶⁵ Kā: pavanti

⁶⁶ Kā: om. |

⁶⁷ Kā: taruṇavatsā; Mā_{1c}, Gu_c: taruṇavatsā

⁶⁸ Gu_c: tā; The scribe of Gu_c does not write out the entire pāda even though it is the last time it is repeated in sequence, but follows prātika quotation.

⁶⁹ Kā: -āpo

⁷⁰ Kā: rājasūyā-

⁷¹ Kā: -avantu

⁷² = PSK 14.1.18

⁷³ Kā: ajījananta

⁷⁴ Kā; muttayas; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: matayaḥ

⁷⁵ Kā: svarvida-

⁷⁶ Kā: -ā

⁷⁷ Kā: sūyeyāṇi

⁷⁸ Ma_{2c}: unreadable. Bhattacharya's apparatus does not make a note on this item.

⁷⁹ Kā: asukta; Mā_{1c}, Gu_c: asuṣūta; Ma_{2c}: asuṣuta; Pa_c: asuṣūta; Bh: asuṣuta

⁸⁰ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: rājasūyāḥ; Gu_c: rājasūyā

⁸¹ Kā: pāyāṃsi; B_T: payāṃsi

⁸² Kā: prasāvai; Pa_c: prasāvid; Gu_c: prāsāvid

⁸³ Kā: keva; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: devaḥ

⁸⁴ Mā_{1c}: |

⁸⁵ somo rājā bhavo rājā paśupatiḥ ⁸⁶ paśūnām varuṇo ⁸⁷ dhṛtavrataḥ ⁸⁸	8-14
ye rājasūye ⁸⁹ asūyanta ⁹⁰ devās te te kṣatram ⁹¹ dadhat _u v ⁹² āyur ⁹³ ojaḥ 9	11-11
⁹⁴ asthād ⁹⁵ ud asthād ⁹⁶ ajaniṣṭa ⁹⁷ vipro ⁹⁸ mṛdho viyāsthād ⁹⁹ *aśīṣīta ¹⁰⁰ bahū	11-11
āre bādhiṣṭa ¹⁰¹ nirṛtiṃ ¹⁰² parācais ¹⁰³ samapṛkta ¹⁰⁴ raśmibhis ¹⁰⁵ sūryaśca ¹⁰⁶ 10	11-11

⁸⁵ = PSK 14.1.19

⁸⁶ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: paśupatiḥ

⁸⁷ Mā_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: varuṇo

⁸⁸ Kā: om. |

⁸⁹ Kā: om.

⁹⁰ Kā: yanti

⁹¹ Kā: kṣatram; Pa_c, Gu_c: kṣetram

⁹² Kā: dattv

⁹³ Kā: ayor

⁹⁴ = PSK 14.1.20

⁹⁵ Kā: asthād

⁹⁶ Kā: asthāj

⁹⁷ Kā: jajiniṣṭa

⁹⁸ Kā: ripro

⁹⁹ Kā: vyāsthār; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: vyāsthād

¹⁰⁰ Kā, Gu_c: aśāṣita; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: aśāṣīta

¹⁰¹ Kā: vādhiṣṭa; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: abādhiṣṭa; Bh: avādhiṣṭa

¹⁰² Kā: nirṛtiḥ; Ma_{2c}: nirrutim; Gu_c: nirṛtam

¹⁰³ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: parācaih

¹⁰⁴ Kā: samavṛkta

¹⁰⁵ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: raśmibhiḥ

¹⁰⁶ Kā: sūryasya

¹apaśyaṃ² tvāvarohantaṃ³ | divitaḥ⁴ pṛthivīm⁵ ava⁶ | 8-8
 apaśyaṃ⁷ asyantaṃ⁸ rudraṃ⁹ | nīlagrīvaṃ¹⁰ śikhaṇḍinaṃ¹¹ ||1||¹² 8-8

¹³diva¹⁴ ugro¹⁵ +_avāruḥṣaḥ¹⁶ | praty¹⁷ aṣṭhā¹⁸ bhūmyāṃ¹⁹ adhi²⁰ |²¹ 8-8
 +janāsaḥ²² paśiyatemaṃ²³ | nīlagrīvaṃ²⁴ vilohitaṃ²⁵ ||2||²⁶ 8-8

¹ = PSK 14.2.1

² Kā: apaśyan; NU: apaśyaṃ

³ NU: tvāvarohantaṃ

⁴ Kā: divataḥ; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: divataḥ; NU: divitaḥ

⁵ NU: pṛthivīm

⁶ Kā, Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}: iva; NU: avah; Bh: iva

⁷ NU: apaśyaṃ

⁸ NU: rudraṃ

⁹ NU: asyantaṃ

¹⁰ NU: nīlagrīvaṃ

¹¹ Kā, NU: śikhaṇḍinaṃ

¹² Kā: z

¹³ = PSK 14.2.2

¹⁴ Kā: divaru; NU: diva

¹⁵ NU: ugro

¹⁶ Kā: vāruḥṣat.; Mā_{1c}: vāṛḥṣaḥ; Ma_{2c}: vāruḥṣaḥ; Pa_c: vāruḥṣa; Gu_c: vāṛḥṣaḥ;
 NU: 'varuḥṣat

¹⁷ NU: praty

¹⁸ Kā: uṣṭamad; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: aṣṭhā; NU: aṣṭhād

¹⁹ NU: bhūmyāmaṃ

²⁰ NU: adi

²¹ Kā: om. |

²² Kā: janāmaḥ; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: janāsaḥ

²³ Kā: paśyatesaṃ; NU: paśiyatemaṃ

²⁴ NU: nīlagrīvaṃ

²⁵ NU: vilohitaṃ

²⁶ Kā: |

²⁷eṣa²⁸aiti²⁹avīrahā³⁰ | rudro³¹jalāṣabheṣajī³² |³³ 8-8
³⁴vī³⁵te³⁶kṣepam³⁷anīnaśad³⁸ | vātikāro³⁹vīy etu te⁴⁰ ||3|| 8-8

⁴¹namas te bhava bhāmāya⁴² | namas te bhava manyave | 8-8
 namas te astu⁴³bāhubhyām | uto ta iṣave namaḥ ||4||⁴⁴ 8-8

²⁷ = PSK 14.2.3

²⁸ Kā: eṣa-; NU: eṣa

²⁹ Kā: -aiti; NU: ety

³⁰ Kā: vīrahā; NU: avīrahā

³¹ Mā_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: ṛdro; NU: rudro

³² Mā_{1c}, Pa_c, NU: jalāṣabheṣajī

³³ Kā: om. |

³⁴ Pa_c: vī; NU: vitte

³⁵ Kā: om.

³⁶ NU: 'kṣepam

³⁷ Gu_c: anīnaśav; NU: anīnaśad

³⁸ Kā: āvācīkāro; Pa_c, NU: vātikāro; Gu_c: dātikāra

³⁹ NU: te

⁴⁰ Kā: om. |

⁴¹ = PSK 14.2.4

⁴² Kā: tāmāya

⁴³ Kā: om.

⁴⁴ Kā: z

⁴⁵yām *iṣum⁴⁶ giriśanta⁴⁷ | haste⁴⁸ bibharṣi⁴⁹ astave |⁵⁰ 7-8
⁵¹śivām + giriśritām⁵¹ kṛṇu || mā himṣiḥ⁵² puruṣān⁵³ mama⁵⁴ ||5||⁵⁵ 8-8

⁵⁶śivēna⁵⁷ vācasā⁵⁸ t_uvā | giriśāchā⁵⁹ vadāmasi⁶⁰ | 8-8
⁶¹yāthā⁶¹ naś⁶² sārva⁶³ īj⁶⁴ jāgad⁶⁵ | ayakṣmām⁶⁶ sumāno⁶⁷
⁶⁸+āsat⁶⁸ ||6|| 8-8

⁴⁵ = PSK 14.2.5

⁴⁶ Kā: ukham; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: iṣam; NU: iṣum; Bh: iṣam

⁴⁷ Kā: giriśamta; Mā_{1c}: giriśanta

⁴⁸ Kā: haster

⁴⁹ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}: bibharsīṣy; Pa_c: bibhīrīṣy

⁵⁰ Kā: om |

⁵¹ Kā: giriśatām; Mā_{1c}: giriśrītām; NU: giritrātām

⁵² Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: himṣiḥ; B_T: hiṃsiḥ; NU: hiṃsiḥ

⁵³ Gu_c: puruṣān

⁵⁴ Kā: namaḥ

⁵⁵ Kā: z

⁵⁶ = PSK 14.2.6

⁵⁷ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: śivēna

⁵⁸ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: vacasā

⁵⁹ Kā: kṛśchrāśchā; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: giriśāchā

⁶⁰ Kā: vadāmamasi

⁶¹ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: yathā

⁶² Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: naḥ

⁶³ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: sarva

⁶⁴ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: ij

⁶⁵ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: jagad

⁶⁶ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: ayakṣman

⁶⁷ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: sumano; NU: sumanā

⁶⁸ Kā: hāsat; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: asat

⁶⁹yā⁷⁰ ta iṣuś⁷¹ śivátamā⁷² | śívām⁷³ babhúva⁷⁴ te dhánuḥ⁷⁵ |⁷⁶ 8-8
 śívā⁷⁷ śaravyā⁷⁸ yā⁷⁹ tavā⁸⁰ | táyā⁸¹ no mṛṣā⁸² jīvāse⁸³ ||7|| 8-8

⁸⁴yā⁸⁵ te rudra⁸⁶ śívā⁸⁷ tanúr⁸⁸ | ághorāpāpakāśinī⁸⁹ | 8-8
 táyā⁹⁰ nas tanvā⁹¹ śántamaya⁹² | giriśantābhi⁹³ + cākaśaḥ⁹⁴ ||8|| 9-8

⁶⁹ = PSK 14.2.7

⁷⁰ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: yā

⁷¹ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: iṣuḥ

⁷² Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: śivátamā

⁷³ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: śívam

⁷⁴ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: babhúva

⁷⁵ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: dhanuḥ

⁷⁶ Kā: om. |

⁷⁷ Kā: nivā; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: śiva

⁷⁸ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: śaravayā

⁷⁹ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: yā

⁸⁰ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: tava

⁸¹ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: tayā

⁸² NU: mṛṣa

⁸³ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: jivase

⁸⁴ = PSK 14.2.8

⁸⁵ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: yā

⁸⁶ Mā_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: ṛdra

⁸⁷ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: śivā

⁸⁸ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: tanūr

⁸⁹ Kā: ághorāpakāścīnī; B_T: °pakāścani; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: aghorāpakāśinī;
 NU: aghora'pāpakāśinī

⁹⁰ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: tayā

⁹¹ Kā, Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: tanvā

⁹² Kā: śāntamayā; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: śāntaymayā; NU: śāntamayā

⁹³ Kā: giriśāntvābhi; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: giriśantābhi

⁹⁴ Kā: cākaśa; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: cākaśa; NU: cākaśat; Bh: cākaśa

⁹⁵asáu⁹⁶ yás⁹⁷ + tāmro⁹⁸ + aruṇā⁹⁹ | utá¹⁰⁰ + babhrúr¹⁰¹ + vílohitah¹⁰² | 8-8
¹⁰³yé¹⁰³ cemé¹⁰⁴ ábhito¹⁰⁵ rudrá¹⁰⁶ | dikṣú¹⁰⁷ + śrítás¹⁰⁸ sáhasraśo¹⁰⁹ [|] 8-8
¹¹⁰+ váiṣāṃ¹¹⁰ héla¹¹¹ Imahe ||9||¹¹² 8

¹¹³+ adarśaṃ¹¹⁴ tvāvarohantaṃ¹¹⁵ | nīlagrīvaṃ¹¹⁶ vilohitaṃ | 8-8
¹¹⁷uta tvā¹¹⁷ gopā¹¹⁸ adṛśann¹¹⁹ | uta t_vvodahārīyah¹²⁰ | 8-8
¹²¹uto tvā¹²¹ viśvā bhūtāni | tasmai dṛṣṭāya te namaḥ ||10||¹²² 8-8

⁹⁵ = PSK 14.2.9

⁹⁶ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: asau

⁹⁷ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: yas

⁹⁸ Kā: tāmra; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: tāmro

⁹⁹ Kā: varṇa; Ma_{2c}, NU: aruṇa; Mā_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: aṛṇa

¹⁰⁰ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: uta

¹⁰¹ Kā: babhruḥ; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Gu_c, NU: babhrur; Pa_c: babhr̥

¹⁰² Kā: vílohitāḥ; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: vilohitaḥ

¹⁰³ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: ye

¹⁰⁴ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: ceme

¹⁰⁵ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: abhito; NU: rudrā

¹⁰⁶ Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: rudrā; Mā_{1c}, Gu_c: ṛdrā NU: abhito

¹⁰⁷ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: dikṣu

¹⁰⁸ Kā: śrítás; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: śritaḥ

¹⁰⁹ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: sahasraśo

¹¹⁰ Kā: váiṣāṃ; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: vaiṣāṃ; NU: 'vaiṣāṃ

¹¹¹ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: hélaNU: heda

¹¹² Kā: z

¹¹³ = PSK 14.2.10

¹¹⁴ Kā: adṛśyaṃ; Mā_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: adṛśaṃ; Ma_{2c}: adaśaṃ; NU: apaśyam

¹¹⁵ Kā: tvāvirohitaṃ

¹¹⁶ Kā: nīlagravaṃ

¹¹⁷ Kā: dvā

¹¹⁸ Kā: gopā-; Pa_c: gopāya

¹¹⁹ Kā: -adṛśaṃ; Mā_{1c}: adṛśaṃ; Ma_{2c}: adaśann

¹²⁰ Kā: dvodahāryāḥ ; Gu_c: todahāryāḥ

¹²¹ Kā: dvā

¹²² Kā: z

¹nāmo² ^astu³ + ⁿīlāsīkhaṇḍāya⁴ | ^sahasrākṣāya⁵ ^vājīne⁶ | 9-8
^átho⁷ ^{yé}⁸ + ^{asyá}⁹ ^{sátvānas}¹⁰ | ^{tébhyo}¹¹ [[']]hām¹² ^{akaram}¹³
^{nāmaḥ}¹⁴ ||1|| 8-8

¹⁵nāmāṃsi¹⁶ ^{ta} ^{áyudhāy}^a¹⁷ | ^{-ā}nātatāya¹⁸ ^{dhṛṣṇāve}¹⁹ | 8-8
^{ubhābhyām}²⁰ ^{akaram}²¹ ^{nāmo}²² | ^{bāhúbhyām}²³ ^{táva}²⁴
^{dhānvane}²⁵ ||2|| 8-8

¹ = PSK 14.2.11

² Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: namo

³ Kā, Mā_{1c}: stu; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: astu

⁴ Kā: nīlāsīkhaṇḍāya; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: nīlāsīkhaṇḍāya

⁵ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: sahasrākṣāya

⁶ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: vājine

⁷ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: atho

⁸ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: ye

⁹ Kā: sya; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: asya

¹⁰ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: satvānas

¹¹ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: tebhyo

¹² Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: ham; NU: 'ham

¹³ Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: akaran; NU: akaram

¹⁴ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: namaḥ

¹⁵ = PSK 14.2.12

¹⁶ Kā: nāmāṃsi; B_T: nāmāṃsi; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: namāṃsi;

¹⁷ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: ayudhāyā-

¹⁸ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: -anātataya

¹⁹ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: dhṛṣṇave

²⁰ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: ubhābhyām

²¹ Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: akaran; NU: akaram

²² Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: namo

²³ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: bāhubhyām

²⁴ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: tava

²⁵ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: dhanvane

²⁶ prāmuñca ²⁷ + dhánvanah ²⁸ páriy ²⁹ ubháyor ³⁰ ártñiyor ³¹ jīyām ³²	8-8
yās cá ³³ te ³⁴ hasta ³⁵ iṣavaḥ ³⁶ parā ³⁷ tā ³⁸ bhagavo ³⁹ + [']vapaḥ ⁴⁰ 3	8-8
⁴¹ avatatya ⁴² dhanus ⁴³ t _u vam ⁴⁴ sahasrākṣa ⁴⁵ śateṣudhe ⁴⁶ niśīrya ⁴⁷ śalyānām ⁴⁸ mukhā ⁴⁹ śivo ⁵⁰ naś ⁵¹ śambhur ⁵² ā ⁵³ cara ⁵⁴ 4	8-8

²⁶ = PSK 14.2.13

²⁷ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: pramuñca

²⁸ Kā: dhánvanam; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: dhanvanas

²⁹ Kā: pari; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: vary; NU: tvam

³⁰ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: ubhayor

³¹ Kā: álnyor; B_T: átnyor; Pa_c, Gu_c: átnyor; NU: ártñiyor

³² Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: jyām; NU: jyām

³³ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: ca; NU: va; Accented portion of Kā ends with cá.

³⁴ NU: te

³⁵ NU: hasta

³⁶ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Gu_c, NU: iṣavaḥ; Pa_c: iṣavaḥ

³⁷ NU: parā

³⁸ NU: tā

³⁹ NU: bhagavo

⁴⁰ Kā, NU: vapa

⁴¹ = PSK 14.2.14

⁴² Kā: avatibhya; NU: avatatya

⁴³ NU: dhanus

⁴⁴ Gu_c: tam; NU: tvaṃ

⁴⁵ Kā: sahasrākśás; B_T: sahasrākśás. Barret has confused the accent mark of line 4 of the manuscript as belonging to line 5; NU: sahasrākṣa

⁴⁶ Kā: śateṣute; Nu: śateṣudhe

⁴⁷ Kā: niśārya; NU: niśāryā

⁴⁸ NU: śalyānām

⁴⁹ NU: mukhā

⁵⁰ NU: śivo

⁵¹ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: naḥ

⁵² NU: śambhur

⁵³ NU: ā

⁵⁴ Kā: varaḥ; NU: bhara

⁵⁵vijyam⁵⁶ + dhanuś⁵⁷ śikhaṇḍino | viśalyo bāṇavān⁵⁸ uta | 8-8
+ aneśann⁵⁹ + as_iya- -iśavaś⁶⁰ | śivo⁶¹ asya⁶² + niṣaṅgathiḥ⁶³ ||5|| 8-8

⁶⁴pari⁶⁵ te⁶⁶ dhanvano⁶⁷ hetir⁶⁸ | asmān⁶⁹ vṛṇaktu⁷⁰ viśvataḥ⁷¹ |⁷² 8-8
atho⁷³ ya⁷⁴ iṣudhis⁷⁵ tava⁷⁶ | -are⁷⁷ asmin⁷⁸ ni⁷⁹ dhehi⁸⁰ tam⁸¹ ||6|| 8-8

⁵⁵ = PSK 14.2.15

⁵⁶ Kā: vijyan; NU: vijyam

⁵⁷ Kā: denuś; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: dhanuḥ; NU: dhanuḥ

⁵⁸ Kā: bāṇavām; B_T: bāṇavān; NU: bāṇavām; Bh: bāṇavān

⁵⁹ Kā: anyeśany; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: aneśamṇ; NU: aneśann

⁶⁰ Kā: asya iśavaś; Mā_{1c}: aśyeśy(←sy)aśivaḥ; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: asyeśavaḥ

⁶¹ NU: abhur

⁶² Kā: sya; NU: asya

⁶³ Kā: niṣamśati; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: niṣaṅgatiḥ; NU: niṣaṅgathiḥ

⁶⁴ = PSK 14.2.16

⁶⁵ NU: pari

⁶⁶ NU: te

⁶⁷ Kā: dhanvino; NU: dhanvano

⁶⁸ Kā: hetiy; NU: heti

⁶⁹ Kā: asmād; NU: asmān

⁷⁰ Kā: runaktu; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: vṛṇakta; NU: vṛṇaktu

⁷¹ NU: viśvataḥ

⁷² Kā: om. |

⁷³ NU: atho

⁷⁴ NU: ya

⁷⁵ Kā: yeṣudhis; NU: iṣudhis

⁷⁶ NU: tava-

⁷⁷ NU: -āre

⁷⁸ Kā: smin; NU: 'smin

⁷⁹ Kā: vi; NU: ni

⁸⁰ NU: dhehi

⁸¹ Kā: tam_i; NU: tam

⁸²yā⁸³ te⁸⁴ hetir⁸⁵ + mīdhuṣṭama⁸⁶ |⁸⁷ haste⁸⁸ babhūva⁸⁹ te⁹⁰
dhanuḥ⁹¹ |⁹² 8-8
tayā⁹³ tvam⁹⁴ viśvato⁹⁵ asmān⁹⁶ | ayakṣmayā⁹⁷ pari⁹⁸ bhuja⁹⁹ ||7||¹⁰⁰ 8-8

⁸² = PSK 14.2.17

⁸³ NU: yā

⁸⁴ NU: te

⁸⁵ Kā: heti hetin; NU: hetir

⁸⁶ Kā: madhuṣṭhama; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: mituṣṭama; NU: mīdhuṣṭāma

⁸⁷ Kā: |

⁸⁸ NU: haste

⁸⁹ NU: babhūva

⁹⁰ NU: te

⁹¹ NU: dhanuḥ

⁹² Kā: om. |

⁹³ Gu_c: tayā-; NU: tayā

⁹⁴ Gu_c: -aham; NU: tvam

⁹⁵ NU: viśvato

⁹⁶ Kā; smān; NU: asmān

⁹⁷ NU: ayakṣmayā

⁹⁸ NU: pari

⁹⁹ Kā: bhūjaḥ; Pa_c: bhūja; NU: bbhūja

¹⁰⁰ Kā: zz ity atharvaṇikapaippaladāyās śākhāyām caturdaśasyārah zz

¹ supārś _u vā kāmādughā ² na ³ āgañ ⁴ chataudanā ⁵ payasā pinvamānā	11-11
⁺ ūrjaṃ ⁶ duhānā ⁷ anapasphuranti ⁸ yajamānasya pratiranti ⁹ āyuh 1	11-11
¹⁰ gṛbhṇāmi medhyām ¹¹ uśatīṃ ¹² s _u vastaya ¹³ ūrjasvatīṃ anamīvām ¹⁴ s _u vādhīyām ¹⁵ ¹⁶	12-12
viśvo loko ¹⁷ mama deveṣ _u v astu ¹⁸ śataudanām ⁺ śraddadhānaḥ ¹⁹ pacāmi 2 ²⁰	11-11

¹ = PSK 14.3.1

² Mā_{1c}: Mā_{2c}: kāmadhughā; Pa_c: kāmamadhughā; Gu_c: kāmadhughā

³ Kā: na-

⁴ Kā: -āgaṃ; Mā_{1c}: āgaṃ

⁵ Kā: śataudanā

⁶ Kā, Mā_{1c}, Mā_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: ūrjaṃ

⁷ Kā: duhān

⁸ Kā: apasphuraṃtī

⁹ Kā: patiranta

¹⁰ = PSK 14.3.2

¹¹ Kā: vedhyām; Mā_{1c}: medham; Pa_c, Gu_c: madhyām

¹² Mā_{1c}: uśatīṃ

¹³ Kā: yaṃ svastayam

¹⁴ Kā: anasīvām

¹⁵ Kā: sādhyām

¹⁶ Kā: om. |

¹⁷ Kā: lokaṃ

¹⁸ Kā: om. d

¹⁹ Mā_{1c}: śraddadhāḥ; Mā_{2c}, Pa_c: śraddadhānaḥ; Gu_c: śraddadhānaṃ

²⁰ Kā: om.

²¹ badhāna devīm abhi dhehi bhuñjatīm śataudanām ²² kāmādhugā ²³ h _i y ²⁴ eṣā	12-11
mainām ²⁵ hiṃsīr ²⁶ aśmanā ²⁷ +jarhṛṣāno ²⁸ apy ²⁹ etu devān ³⁰ ati ³¹ gachati ³² dviṣaḥ ³³ 3	11-12
³⁴ ā rabhasva brahmaṇā ³⁵ vaiśvadevīm ³⁶ śataudanām śatapāpmāno ³⁷ asyaḥ ³⁸	11-11
samarpayann ³⁹ aśmanā ⁴⁰ parvatena ⁴¹ svargaṃ lokam adhi +rohay _{a-} -c _{nām} ⁴² 4	11-11

²¹ = PSK 14.3.3; Kā: om. 3a

²² Kā: śatodanām

²³ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: kāmādhugā

²⁴ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: jy

²⁵ Kā: nainām

²⁶ Kā: hiṃsīr; B_T: hiṃsīr; Pa_c: hiṣīr

²⁷ Kā: aśvinā; Pa_c: aśminā

²⁸ Kā: jarhṛṣāno; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: jarhṛṣāno

²⁹ Kā: apy; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: py

³⁰ Kā: devām

³¹ Kā: api

³² Kā: gaśchata

³³ Kā: dviṣaḥ; Gu_c: biṣaḥ

³⁴ = PKS 14.3.4

³⁵ Kā: vrāhmaṇā

³⁶ Kā: vaiśvadevyām

³⁷ Kā: śatamacamāno

³⁸ Kā: sya

³⁹ Kā: samapaiyam; Mā_{1c}: samarpayan; Pa_c, Gu_c: samarpayant

⁴⁰ Kā: raśminā; Pa_c: uśmanā

⁴¹ Kā: parvatenah

⁴² Kā: roha enam z; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: rohayainām

⁴³ dhṛṣṇu ⁴⁴ h _i y ⁴⁵ enāṃ ⁴⁶ +vikṛtāṃ ⁴⁷ vikṛntann ⁴⁸ apaghnamś ⁴⁹ carmeraya ⁵⁰ saṃ sṛjaināṃ ⁵¹ ⁵² virājo duhiteraya ⁵³ samaktā ⁵⁴ kāmam-kāmam yajamānāya duhām ⁵⁵ 5	11-11 11-11
⁵⁶ yathāparu ⁵⁷ viśasan ⁵⁸ māti ⁵⁹ +mamsthāḥ ⁶⁰ kṛṇuṣvā me + nāmadheyāni ⁶¹ pṛthak _i agan ⁶² devān ⁶³ mānuṣī ⁶⁴ yā purābhūc ⁶⁵ chataudanā pururūpā ⁶⁶ suvarṇā ⁶⁷ 6	11-11 11-11

⁴³ = PSk 14.3.5

⁴⁴ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: dhṛṣṇa

⁴⁵ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: jy

⁴⁶ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: enān

⁴⁷ Kā: viśvatā; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: vikṛtā

⁴⁸ Kā: nikṛntam; Pa_c, Gu_c: vikantann

⁴⁹ Kā: apaghnoś; Gu_c: apaghnamś

⁵⁰ Kā: carumerayā; Pa_c: armerayī; Gu_c: carmerayī

⁵¹ Kā: sṛjīnām; Ma_{2c}: sṛjenām

⁵² Kā: om. |

⁵³ Kā: duhiterayā |; Pa_c, Gu_c: duhiterayī

⁵⁴ Kā: sasat

⁵⁵ Bh: duhām

⁵⁶ = PSK 14.3.6

⁵⁷ Kā: yathāpari; Mā_{1c}, Gu_c: yathāpaṛ

⁵⁸ Kā: viśasam

⁵⁹ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: nāti

⁶⁰ Kā: mamsthā; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: mamsthāḥ

⁶¹ Kā: nāmadheyām; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Gu_c: nāvadheyāna; Pa_c: nāvadheyān

⁶² Kā: agham

⁶³ Kā: devā

⁶⁴ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Gu_c: mānuṣīr; Pa_c: mānuṣar

⁶⁵ Kā: parābhūś; Pa_c: parābhūc

⁶⁶ Mā_{1c}, Gu_c: purrūpā

⁶⁷ Kā: saparṇā; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: suvarṇṇā

⁶⁸⁺ dvipād ⁶⁹ dvihastah ⁷⁰ puruṣo ⁷¹ + mahādamo ⁷² vanaspatim ⁷³ bibharti ⁷⁴ sāyakāgram ⁷⁵	12-11
tena parūṃṣi ⁷⁶ pravidvān + aghnyāyāś ⁷⁷ śataudanām devīm ⁷⁸ śatadhā vy asya 7	11-11
⁷⁹ etam ⁸⁰ bradhnām ⁸¹ carmaṇah ⁸² kṛnta sādhu ⁸³ tam ⁸⁴ u ⁸⁵ pramāya śatadhā ⁸⁶ viy asya ⁸⁷ ⁸⁸	11-11
sam ut ⁸⁹ sajann ⁹⁰ ava dhānāni ⁹¹ sarvā ⁹² rāyaspoṣaṃ yajamānāya dhehi 8	11-11

⁶⁸ = PSK 14.3.7

⁶⁹ Kā: dviṣā; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: dvipāt; Gu_c: dipāt

⁷⁰ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: dvihastah; Gu_c: ???hastah

⁷¹ Mā_{1c}, Gu_c: puruṣo

⁷² Kā: mahānavo; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: mahadamo

⁷³ Kā: navanaspatim; Gu_c: vanaspatim

⁷⁴ Pa_c: babharti; Gu_c: babharti

⁷⁵ Kā: om. |

⁷⁶ Kā: parūṃṣi; B_T: parūṃṣi; Mā_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: parṃṣi

⁷⁷ Kā: agnāyām; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: aghnyāyāh

⁷⁸ Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: devī

⁷⁹ =PSK 14.3.8

⁸⁰ Kā: yatam

⁸¹ Kā: vraddhnām; Mā_{1c}, Mā_{1c}, Pa_c: braddhram; Gu_c: braddhriṃ

⁸² Kā: carmaṇi; Mā_{1c}, Pa_c: carmanāh; Ma_{2c}, Gu_c: carmmaṇah

⁸³ Kā: mādhat

⁸⁴ Kā: ta | m

⁸⁵ Kā: a

⁸⁶ Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: śatadhār; Gu_c: śaśatadhār

⁸⁷ Mā_{1c}: asa

⁸⁸ Kā: om. |

⁸⁹ Pa_c: ut.

⁹⁰ Kā: sṛjann

⁹¹ Kā: avidhānāmi; Mā_{1c}: avadhannāni; Gu_c: avadhnānāni

⁹² Kā: sarvām

⁹³ ṛcā ⁹⁴ kumbhīm adhīy agnau ⁹⁵ śrayāmi bhūmyām tvā ⁹⁶ bhūmim ⁹⁷ adhi dhārayāmi	11-11
apo ⁹⁸ māmsam bibhrati ⁹⁹ mā vyathiṣṭhā ¹⁰⁰ mā tvā vadhiṣur ¹⁰¹ menibhiḥ ¹⁰² piśacāḥ ¹⁰³ 9	11-11
¹⁰⁴ ūrdhvā ¹⁰⁵ prehi mā ¹⁰⁶ sam ¹⁰⁷ vikthā ¹⁰⁸ vīy asya rajo antaram ¹⁰⁹	8-8
rakṣāṃsi ¹¹⁰ sarvā tīrtva ¹¹¹ yathā ¹¹² roha divam tvaṃ 10	8-8

⁹³ = PSK 14.3.9

⁹⁴ Ma_{2c}: rucā; Pa_c, Gu_c: racā

⁹⁵ Ma_{2c}: agau

⁹⁶ Kā: bhutvā

⁹⁷ Kā: bhūmim

⁹⁸ Kā: apo

⁹⁹ Gu_c: bibhrati

¹⁰⁰ Pa_c: vyathiṣṭha; Gu_c: vya?iṣṭhā

¹⁰¹ Kā: vidiṣubhir

¹⁰² Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: menibhiḥ

¹⁰³ Kā: piśacā

¹⁰⁴ = PSK 14.3.10

¹⁰⁵ Mā_{1c}, Gu_c: urdhvā; Ma_{2c}: urddhvā; Pa_c: urdva;

¹⁰⁶ Kā: sā

¹⁰⁷ Kā: pa

¹⁰⁸ Kā: vyaktā

¹⁰⁹ Kā: antarikṣam

¹¹⁰ Kā: rakṣāṃsi; B_T: rakṣāṃsi

¹¹¹ Kā: tīrtva

¹¹² Kā: yathā°

¹ divaṃ prehi śataudane ² sahasrasyāyanam bhava	8-8
ayutaṃ prayutaṃ ³ bhava _a -akṣitir ⁴ bhavatāt ⁵ t _u vam ⁶	8-8
s _u vargaṃ ⁷ lokam ⁸ āruhaḥ ⁹ 1	8
¹⁰ śataudanām ¹¹ śatadhā bhakṣayanti śataṃ ¹² rohān ¹³ rohati ¹⁴	
yo dadāti ¹⁵ ¹⁶	11-11
vāmadevyam naudhasam asyāḥ ¹⁷ pakṣau tṛtīye ¹⁸ nāke adhi	
viṣṭapi ¹⁹ śritā ²⁰ 2	11-12

¹ = PSK 14.3.11

² Kā: śatodane

³ Pa_c, Gu_c: om.

⁴ Kā: -akṣatur

⁵ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: bhavatā

⁶ Kā: tamam; Pa_c, Gu_c: tvām

⁷ Kā: svarga

⁸ Kā: lokam

⁹ Mā_{1a}, Gu_c: aṛhaḥ

¹⁰ = PSK 14.3.12

¹¹ Pa_c: śatuadanā

¹² Kā: śato

¹³ Kā: rohām

¹⁴ Kā: rohasi

¹⁵ Kā: dadhāti

¹⁶ Kā: om. |

¹⁷ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: asyāḥ

¹⁸ Mā_{1c}: ??tīye; Ma_{2c}: tritīye

¹⁹ Kā: tiṣṭhati

²⁰ Kā: śrutāḥ

²¹⁺ śataudana ²² śatadhā kalpamānā ²³ śataṃ rūpāṇi ²⁴ kṛṇute ²⁵ svaryatī ²⁶	11-11
sā no devī ²⁷ suhavā ²⁸ śarma yachatv ²⁹ atho ³⁰ mṛḍatī ³¹ -īdṛśe 3	11-8
³² śataudana dvādaśāhena saṃmitā ³³ śataṃ pṛsthāni ³⁴ sasṛje ³⁵ s _u varyatī ³⁶ ³⁷	12-12
sarvāṇ ³⁸ yajñāṇ ³⁹ pariyatī ⁴⁰ parastāt sā dātāraṃ rāyaspoṣe dadhātu ⁴¹ 4	11-11

²¹ = PSK 14.3.13

²² Kā, Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, Bh: śataudanaṃ

²³ Kā: kalpamānāṃ

²⁴ Mā_{1c}, Gu_c: ṛpāṇi

²⁵ Kā: kṛṇutī; Ma_{2c}: kṛṇubhe

²⁶ Kā: om. |

²⁷ Kā: devīs

²⁸ Pa_c: suhadā

²⁹ Kā: yaśchat

³⁰ Kā: tatho

³¹ Kā: mṛḍata; Ma_{2c}: mṛjati-

³² = PSK 14.3.14

³³ Kā: kalpate |

³⁴ Kā: dṛṣṭyāni; Pa_c, Gu_c: pṛsthāni

³⁵ Kā: samṛje

³⁶ Kā: svaryati

³⁷ Kā: om. |

³⁸ Kā: sarvāṇ

³⁹ Kā: yajñāni

⁴⁰ Kā: prarayati

⁴¹ Kā: dadāti

abhi prehi śataudana⁴² | Ijānān⁴³ somasatvanah⁴⁴ | 8-8
 yajñāṃs⁴⁵ t_uvaṃ sarvān + aptvā⁴⁶ | kāmaprasyāyanam⁴⁷ bhava ||5|| 8-8

abhi prehi śataudane⁴⁸ | yajñenā yajvanas⁴⁹ tara⁵⁰ | 8-8
 ā⁵¹ + devayūn⁵² + aruroho⁵³ | yatrādas tridivam divah ||6|| 8-8

⁴² Kā: śataudane

⁴³ Kā: jānām: B_T: janañ

⁴⁴ Pa_c: somāsahanah

⁴⁵ Kā: yajñās

⁴⁶ Kā: optvā; Mā_{1c} Ma_{2c} Pa_c Gu_c : aptā

⁴⁷ Kā: kāmah prācyāyanam

⁴⁸ Kā: śataudhane

⁴⁹ Kā: yajvanis

⁵⁰ Kā: tava

⁵¹ Kā: yā

⁵² Kā: devayoni; Mā_{1c} Ma_{2c} Pa_c Gu_c: devayun

⁵³ Kā: rorho; Mā_{1c} Pa_c Gu_c: ar̥rho

irāpadī⁵⁴ prathamā⁵⁵ śataudanā⁵⁶ || satīyam hi⁵⁷ madhīyam
amṛtaṃ śiras tava | 11-12
ubhe devī⁵⁸ rodasi⁵⁹ apr̥ṇasi⁶⁰ ||7|| 11

ṛtaṃ⁶¹ ha⁶² śronī⁶³ uta⁶⁴ +saktyau⁶⁵ +tava⁶⁶ | +yau⁶⁷ ha bāhū
uta tad⁶⁸ balāya kaṃ |⁶⁹ 11-11
*vaniṣṭhuḥ⁷⁰ jaṭharam ād⁷¹ u⁷² pārśve⁷³ | +sarvaṇ⁷⁴ lokaṇ⁷⁵
chataudanā⁷⁶ samāpa⁷⁷ ||8|| 11-11

⁵⁴ Kā: idāpatī; Pa_c: Irāpapatī; Gu_c: Irāpadī

⁵⁵ Kā: prathamās

⁵⁶ Kā: śataudavāḥ

⁵⁷ Pa_c, Gu_c: tva

⁵⁸ Kā: devī

⁵⁹ Kā: rodhasī; Pa_c: rohasī

⁶⁰ Kā: yāpr̥ṇāmī; Gu_c: āpr̥ṇasi

⁶¹ Kā: ṛcam; Kā_{sm}: ṛdam; Ma_{2c}: rutam

⁶² Kā: om.

⁶³ Kā: śrony; Mā_{1c}: sronī

⁶⁴ Kā: aut

⁶⁵ Kā: saktau; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: sakthau

⁶⁶ Kā: tanvau; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: tavau

⁶⁷ Kā: jo; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: yo

⁶⁸ Kā: ud; Gu_c: ta; Mā_{1c}: om.

⁶⁹ Kā: om. |

⁷⁰ Kā: aniṣṭha; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: anuṣṭu

⁷¹ Kā: ān

⁷² Kā: i

⁷³ Mā_{1c}: āśve; Gu_c: parśve

⁷⁴ Kā, Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: sarvā

⁷⁵ Kā: lokām; B_T: lokaṇ; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: lokām

⁷⁶ Kā: śataudanā

⁷⁷ Mā_{1c} marks this verse as the end of the hymn with the usual marking ||6||ṛ10||. The manuscript marks this verse as 10 verses eventhough there are clearly 8 stanzas.

⁷⁸ cakṣuṣmatī ⁷⁹ prathamā śataudanā ^{[[} sūryo ha cakṣur ⁸⁰ uta ⁸¹ candramās ⁸² tava	11-12
viśvair ⁸³ devair ⁸⁴ ṛtubhis ⁸⁵ + sam ⁸⁶ vidāna ⁸⁷ ^{[[} sā datāraṃ tṛptiḥ tarpayāsi ⁸⁸ 9	11-11
⁸⁹ śataṃ payāṃsi ⁹⁰ śataṃ ⁹¹ asyā ⁹² vatsās ⁹³ ^{[[} śatadhā ⁹⁴ pakvāṃ ⁹⁵ vi bhajantīy enāṃ ⁹⁶	11-11
sapta lokā divy ārpitā ⁹⁷ ^{[[} *etān ⁹⁸ jigetha ⁹⁹ prathamā ¹⁰⁰ śataudane 10	8-12

⁷⁸ 14.6.9; Mā_{1c}: om.

⁷⁹ Kā: cakṣuṣmatīḥ

⁸⁰ Pa_c, Gu_c: cakṣur-

⁸¹ Pa_c, Gu_c: ta

⁸² Kā: candramas

⁸³ Kā: viśver; Kā_{sm}: viśvair

⁸⁴ Pa_c: devaiḥ

⁸⁵ Mā_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: ṛtubhiḥ; Ma_{2c}: rutubhiḥ

⁸⁶ Kā: ca; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: sam

⁸⁷ Kā: naddhās

⁸⁸ Kā: tarpayāmi; Ma_{2c}, Gu_c: tarpayāsi

⁸⁹ 14.6.10; Mā_{1c}: om.

⁹⁰ Kā: payāṃsi; B_T: payāṅsi

⁹¹ Ma_{2c}: satam; Gu_c: satamaṃ

⁹² Pa_c is illegible; Gu_c: syā

⁹³ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: vatsāḥ

⁹⁴ Gu_c: śatadhāṃ

⁹⁵ Pa_c: pak??ṃ

⁹⁶ Kā: om. |

⁹⁷ Kā: anpitā; Ma_{2c}: ār?itrā

⁹⁸ Kā, Mā_{1c}: etāṃ; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: yetāṃ

⁹⁹ Kā: jigeta

¹⁰⁰ Kā: prathamās

sahasreṇa ¹ śatamānā yad eṣi lokāṃ ² jigeṭha ³ prathamā śataudane ⁴	11-12
sarvavedasam ⁵ uta ⁶ vājapeyaṃ +sarvāṇ ⁷ llokāṃ ⁸ śataudanā ⁹ samāpa 1	11-11
+indrah ¹⁰ papāṭha ¹¹ +prathamāś ¹² śataudanāṃ ¹³ sapta +ṛṣibhyas ¹⁴ sumanas;yamānaḥ	12-12
tayāsuraṇām ¹⁵ balam oja ādade ¹⁶ tayā ¹⁷ ruroha ¹⁸ viṣṭapo ¹⁹ devalokān ²⁰ 2	12-12

¹ Mā_{1c}: śahasreṇa

² B_T: lokāṇ

³ Kā: jigeṭa

⁴ Kā: om. |

⁵ Mā_{1c}: sarvavedaṣ

⁶ Kā: itu

⁷ Kā: sarvām; Mā_{1c}: sarva; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: sarvāl

⁸ Kā: lokāṃ; B_T: lokāṇ, Mā_{1c}: lobhaṃ

⁹ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: chataudanāṃ

¹⁰ Kā: indra; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: indrah

¹¹ Kā: prapāṭha; Mā_{1c}: pāpā; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: papāṭa

¹² Kā: prathamāś; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: prathamah

¹³ Kā: śataudanās

¹⁴ Kā, Mā_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: ṛṣabhyah; Ma_{2c}: ruṣibhyah

¹⁵ Kā: bhayāsuraṇām; Mā_{1c}: tayāsūrāṇām; Pa_c: tayāsuraṇā

¹⁶ Kā: ādadhe

¹⁷ Kā: bhayā

¹⁸ Mā_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: rroha

¹⁹ Kā: viṣṭhapo

²⁰ Kā: devalokāṃ; B_T: devalokāṇ

viśvāmitro ²¹ 'yaṃ ²² jamadagnir ²³ atrir ²⁴ bharadvājo gotamo ²⁵ [']yaṃ vasiṣṭhaḥ ²⁶	11-11
idaṃ ⁺ pakvāṃ ²⁷ kaśiyapas ²⁸ saptamāḥ pr _a - _a śnantu prathamāś ²⁹ śataudanāṃ ³⁰ 3	11-11
jyotiṣmatī ³¹ prathamā ³² śataudana ³³ trīṇi jyotiṃṣi ³⁴ kṛṇute s _u varyati	11-12
tāṃ ³⁵ datāra ³⁶ upajīvanti ³⁷ yatra ³⁸ tatra ³⁹ +devais ⁴⁰ sadhamādaṃ ⁴¹ madanti ⁴² 4	11-11

²¹ Kā: viśvāmittro

²² Kā: yaṃ

²³ Mā_{1c}: yamadagnir

²⁴ Kā: attrir

²⁵ Kā: gautamo

²⁶ Kā: vaiṣṭhaḥ; Pa_c, Gu_c: vaśiṣṭhaś. In Pa_c and Gu_c, the verse is not followed by the usual daṇḍa, but rather continues with the next verse.

²⁷ Kā, Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: pakvaṃ

²⁸ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: kaśyapa

²⁹ Mā_{2c}: prathamā; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: prathamāḥ

³⁰ Kā: śataudane

³¹ Kā: jyotiṣmatīḥ

³² Kā: prathamāś; Ma_{2c}: pratha??

³³ Kā: śataudanās

³⁴ Kā: jyotiṃṣi; B_T: jyotiṇṣi

³⁵ Mā_{1c}: missing

³⁶ Kā: datāram; Mā_{1c}: ādatātāra

³⁷ Mā_{1c}: upajīvanti

³⁸ Kā: tatra

³⁹ Kā: yatra

⁴⁰ Kā: devaḥ; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: devaiḥ

⁴¹ Kā: sadhamānaṃ

⁴² Kā: padaṃti

chandaḥpakṣa ⁴³ bṛhatī ⁴⁴ śataudana ⁴⁵ trīṇi chandāṃsi ⁴⁶ sasṛje ⁴⁷ s _u varyatī	11-12
ṛtūnām ⁴⁸ adhirājan ⁴⁹ saṃvatsaram ⁵⁰ patim ⁵¹ asyā ⁵² +avindan ⁵³ 5	11-8
atikramayāgniṣṭomam ⁵⁴ atirātram śataudane ⁵⁵ yajñāṃs ⁵⁶ tvam sarvān āpt _u vā- -acityam ⁵⁷ agniṃ ⁵⁸ vy ⁵⁹ śnuhi ⁶⁰ 6	8-8 8-8

⁴³ Kā: chandaḥpakṣād

⁴⁴ Kā: vṛhatī

⁴⁵ Kā: śrutadanās

⁴⁶ Kā: śchandāṃsi; B_T: śchandāṃsi

⁴⁷ Mā_{1c}: svasṛje

⁴⁸ Ma_{2c}: rutūnām

⁴⁹ Kā: adhirājan

⁵⁰ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: saṃvatsaram

⁵¹ Pa_c: pati

⁵² Pa_c: om.

⁵³ Kā: asyādhivam; Ma_{2c}, Gu_c: asyāvindan; Pa_c: vindan

⁵⁴ Kā: abhikrandasyāgniṣṭoma

⁵⁵ Kā: om. |

⁵⁶ Kā, Mā_{1c}: yajñās

⁵⁷ Kā: -dityam

⁵⁸ Pa_c, Gu_c: agni

⁵⁹ Kā: vi

⁶⁰ Kā: śnuhi

aśvamedhyaṃ⁶¹ atikramya | dvādaśāhaṃ śataudane | 8-8
trirātraṃ⁺ sāhnam⁶² aptuvā | vājapeyena⁶³ kalpate⁶⁴ ||7|| 8-8

ye sahasrair⁶⁵ ijānā | agnihotrahutās⁶⁶ ca ye | 7-8
yajñair⁶⁷ ye sarvair⁶⁸ ijānās⁶⁹ | tān āpnoti śataudanā ||8|| 8-8

⁶¹ Pa_c, Gu_c: aśvameddham

⁶² Kā: sānum; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: sahnam

⁶³ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: vajapeyen.

⁶⁴ Gu_c: kal??t?

⁶⁵ Kā: sahasrer; Mā_{1c}: sahasr?r, the pṛṣṭamatra element of -ai- namely -e- is missing.

⁶⁶ Kā: -agnihotrahutās

⁶⁷ Kā: yajñe

⁶⁸ Kā: sarver

⁶⁹ Ma_{2c}: ijānā

śaṃ ⁷⁰ te parūṃṣi ⁷¹ subhage dadhāmi ⁷² śaṃ ⁷³ te māṃsāni ⁷⁴ ṛtuthā ⁷⁵ bhavanti	11-11
asthi yat te · śamitā śasāra ⁷⁶ tat ⁷⁷ te tvaṣṭā vihr̥tam ⁷⁸ niṣ kṛnotu ⁷⁹ 9	10-11
ye yajñena jita loka yān u chandāṃsi ⁸⁰ bhejire ⁸¹	8-8
sarvāṃs ⁸² + tān ⁸³ llokān āpnoti yo dadāti śataudanāṃ ⁸⁴ 10	8-8

⁷⁰ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: śan

⁷¹ Kā: parūṃṣi; B_T: parūṃsi; Mā_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: paṃṣi; Ma_{2c}: parumṣi

⁷² Kā: dadāmi

⁷³ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: śan

⁷⁴ Kā: māṃsā; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}: māṃsanv; Gu_c: māṃnya

⁷⁵ Kā: ṛdada; Mā_{1c}: attadhā; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: attadthā; Gu_c: rathā; Bh: attathā

⁷⁶ Kā: cacārat

⁷⁷ Kā: om.

⁷⁸ Kā: vihr̥jam; Ma_{2c}: vibhṛtaśrīravihṛtam

⁷⁹ Kā: kṛnatu

⁸⁰ Kā: śchandāṃsi; B_T: ścandaṃsi

⁸¹ Kā: om. |

⁸² Kā: sarvāṃs; B_T: sarvāṃs

⁸³ Kā: tān; B_T: tān; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: tā

⁸⁴ Kā: śataudanā

¹iṣirā²yoṣā³yuvatir⁴+damūnā⁵ ||¹ rātrī⁶devasya⁷savitur⁸
bhagasya-⁹ |¹⁰ 11-11
-aśvakṣubhā¹¹suhavā¹²saṃbhṛtaśrīr¹³ ||¹ ā¹⁴paprau¹⁵dyāvapṛthivī¹⁶
mahitvā¹⁷ ||1||¹⁸ 11-11

¹ = PSK 14.4.1 = ŚS 14.49.1

² ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: iṣirā

³ Kā: yukhā; Pa_c, Gu_c: yoṣām; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: yóṣā

⁴ Gu_c: yuvatīr; ŚS, ŚS_{PP}: yuvatīr

⁵ Kā: damūnām; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: damunā; ŚS, ŚS_{PP}: dāmūnā

⁶ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: rātrī

⁷ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: devāsya

⁸ Mā_{1c}: savitu; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: savitúr

⁹ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: bhágasya

¹⁰ Kā: om. |

¹¹ Kā: -aśvakṣarā; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: aśvakṣatā; ŚS: -viśvávyacāḥ;
ŚS_{SPP}: aśvakṣabhā

¹² ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: suháva

¹³ Kā: saṃbhṛtaśrīr; Gu_c: saṃbhutaśrīr; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: sámbhṛtaśrīr

¹⁴ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: ā

¹⁵ Kā: babhror; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: paprau

¹⁶ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: dyāvapṛthivī

¹⁷ ŚS: mahitvá

¹⁸ Kā: |

¹⁹ava²⁰ viśvānīy²¹ aruḥad²² gabhīrā-²³ || -ud²⁴ varṣiṣṭham²⁵ aruḥad²⁶
aśramiṣṭhā²⁷ | 11-11
uśatī²⁸ rātrīy²⁹ anu³⁰ sānu³¹ bhadra³² || vi³³ tiṣṭhate³⁴ mitra³⁵ iva³⁶
svadhābhiḥ³⁷ ||2||³⁸ 11-11

¹⁹ = PSK 14.4.2 = ŚS 19.49.2

²⁰ Kā: abhi; Ma_{2c}: ap(← v)a; Pa_c: apa; ŚS: adhi; ŚS_{SPP}: ati

²¹ Kā: viśvām; Pa_c: viśvānī; ŚS: viśvāny

²² Kā: arhad; Mā_{1c}: arhañ; Ma_{2c}: aruhañ; Pa_c: avarḥad; Gu_c: arhan;
ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: aruḥad;

²³ Gu_c: gambhīrā-; ŚS: gabhīrā; ŚS_{SPP}: gambhīro

²⁴ ŚS_{SPP}: om.

²⁵ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}: varṣiṣṭam; Pa_c: varṣiṣṭam; Gu_c: avṛṣiṣṭam;

ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: vārṣiṣṭham

²⁶ Kā: arhad; Mā_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: arḥad; ŚS: dyām aruhac; ŚS_{SPP}: aruhanta

²⁷ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: aśramiṣṭā; ŚS: chaviṣṭhā; ŚS_{SPP}: śraviṣṭhāh

²⁸ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: uśatī

²⁹ Kā: rātny; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: rātry

³⁰ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: anu

³¹ Kā: avasān; ŚS: mā; ŚS_{SPP}: sā

³² Pa_c, Gu_c: bhadra; ŚS: bhadrábhir; ŚS_{SPP}: bhadrábhi

³³ ŚS: ví; ŚS_{SPP}: om.

³⁴ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: tiṣṭhate

³⁵ Kā: mittra; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: mitrá

³⁶ Kā: ina; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: iva

³⁷ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: svadhābhiḥ

³⁸ Kā: om. z

³⁹⁺vār_iye⁴⁰ vandy⁴¹ subhage⁴² sujāta⁴³ [|] * achāgan⁴⁴ rātri⁴⁵
 sumanā⁴⁶ iha⁴⁷ syāh⁴⁸ |⁴⁹
 asmāms⁵⁰ trāyasva⁵¹ nar_iyāṇi⁵² jātā⁵³ [|] s_uvā⁵⁴ yāni⁵⁵ . gav_iyāni⁵⁶
 puṣṭā⁵⁷ ||3||

11-11

11-10

³⁹ = PSK 14.4.3 = ŚS 19.49.3

⁴⁰ Kā: niryai; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: narye; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: vārye

⁴¹ Kā: vande; Pa_c: vande; ŚS: vāndye; ŚS_{SPP}: vande

⁴² Ma_c: subhato; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: súbhage

⁴³ Kā: svajāta; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: sújāta

⁴⁴ Kā: cāgni; Mā_{1c}: ātāgan; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: ācāgan; ŚS: ajagan; ŚS_{SPP}: ājagan\

⁴⁵ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: rātri

⁴⁶ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: sumānā

⁴⁷ Kā: hya; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: ihā

⁴⁸ ŚS: syāh; ŚS_{SPP}: syām

⁴⁹ Kā: om. |

⁵⁰ Kā: asmā; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: asmāms

⁵¹ Kā: dhūyasva; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: trāyasva

⁵² Kā: niryaṇi; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: nāryāṇi

⁵³ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: jātā

⁵⁴ Kā: śriya; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: śvā; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: átho

⁵⁵ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: yāni

⁵⁶ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: gavyāni

⁵⁷ Kā: puṣṭya; Ma_{2c}: p_?ṣṭa; ŚS: púṣṭhā; ŚS_{SPP}: puṣṭhyā

⁵⁸siṃhasya⁵⁹ rātri⁶⁰y⁶¹ uṣati⁶² piśasya⁶³ || vyāghrasya⁶⁴ dvīpino⁶⁵
varca⁶⁶ ā⁶⁷ dade⁶⁸ |
aśvasya⁶⁹ bradhnām⁷⁰ puruṣasya⁷¹ *māyām⁷² || pururūpaṇi⁷³
kṛṇuṣe⁷⁴ \vibhati⁷⁵ ||4||

11-12

11-11

⁵⁸ = PSk 14.4.4 = ŚS 19.49.4

⁵⁹ Kā: siṃhasya; B_T: siṃhasya; Mā_{1c}: sihaṃsya; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: siṃhāsya

⁶⁰ Kā: rātri; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: rātry

⁶¹ Kā: uṣati; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: uṣatī

⁶² Kā: nipasya; ŚS: piśāsya; ŚS_{SPP}: pīṃṣasya

⁶³ Mā_{1c}: vryāghrasya; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: vyāghrásya

⁶⁴ Kā: dvepano; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: dvīpino

⁶⁵ Mā_{1c}: varcha; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: várca

⁶⁶ Kā: om.; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: á

⁶⁷ Kā: dhe; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: dade

⁶⁸ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: áśvasya

⁶⁹ Kā: vradhnām; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: bradhnām

⁷⁰ Mā_{1c}, Gu_c: puṛṣasya; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: púruṣasya

⁷¹ Kā, Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: māyām; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: māyúm

⁷² Mā_{1c}: pārīpaṇi; Gu_c: puṛīpaṇi; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: purú rūpāṇi

⁷³ Kā: kṛṇuṣī; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: kṛṇuṣe

⁷⁴ Ma_{2c}: viśatī; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: bibhatī

⁷⁵śivāṃ⁷⁶ rātrim⁷⁷ . ahni⁷⁸ sūryāñ⁷⁹ ca⁸⁰ [[]] himasya⁸¹ mātā⁸²
 suhavā⁸³ no⁸⁴ astu⁸⁵ |⁸⁶
 asya⁸⁷ stomasya⁸⁸ subhage⁸⁹ ni⁹⁰ bodha⁹¹ [[]] ena⁹² tvā⁹³ vande⁹⁴
 viśvāsu⁹⁵ dikṣu⁹⁶ ||5||

10-11

11-11

⁷⁵ = PSK 14.4.5 = ŚS 19.49.5

⁷⁶ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: śivāṃ

⁷⁷ Pa_c: rātrīm; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: rātrim

⁷⁸ ŚS: anva; ŚS_{SPP}: anu

⁷⁹ Kā: sūryaṃ; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: sūryāṃ

⁸⁰ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: ca

⁸¹ Kā: yamasya; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: himāsyā

⁸² ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: mātā

⁸³ Kā: subhavā; Pa_c: sū??vī; Gu_c: sahavā; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: suháva

⁸⁴ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: no

⁸⁵ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: astu

⁸⁶ Kā: z

⁸⁷ Kā: aśva; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: asyā

⁸⁸ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: stómasya

⁸⁹ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: subhage

⁹⁰ Kā: va; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: na; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: ní

⁹¹ Kā: todha; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: bodha

⁹² Kā: yeranu; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: yéna

⁹³ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: tvā

⁹⁴ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: vānde

⁹⁵ Kā: viśvāse; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: viśvāsu

⁹⁶ Kā: vikṣu; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: dikṣú

⁹⁷ stomasya ⁹⁸ no ⁹⁹ vibhāvari ¹⁰⁰ [[] rātri ¹⁰¹ rājeva ¹⁰² joṣasai ¹⁰³ ¹⁰⁴	8-8
asāma ¹⁰⁵ sārvaṇīrā ¹⁰⁶ [[] bhavāma ¹⁰⁷ sārvaṇedaso ¹⁰⁸	7-8
viyuchantīr ¹⁰⁹ anūṣasaḥ ¹¹⁰ 6	8

⁹⁷ = PSK 14.4.6 = ŚS 19.49.6

⁹⁸ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: stómasya

⁹⁹ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: no

¹⁰⁰ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: vibhāvari

¹⁰¹ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: rātri

¹⁰² ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: rājeva

¹⁰³ Kā: moṣasī; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: joṣase

¹⁰⁴ Kā: om. |

¹⁰⁵ Kā: yathānaḥ; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: ásāma

¹⁰⁶ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: sārvaṇīrā

¹⁰⁷ Kā: bhavāmah: ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: bhāvāma

¹⁰⁸ Ma_{2c}: sa?vavedaso; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: sārvaṇedaso

¹⁰⁹ Kā: viśchantīn; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: vyutsantīr; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: vyuchántīr

¹¹⁰ Kā: anukamaḥ; ŚS: anūṣasaḥ

¹¹¹ *śamsyā¹¹² ha¹¹³ nāma¹¹⁴ dadhiṣe¹¹⁵ [|] mama¹¹⁶ dipsanti¹¹⁷ ye¹¹⁸
 dhana¹¹⁹ |
 rātri¹²⁰ hita¹²¹ + nas¹²² *sudapā¹²³ [|] -a¹²⁴ tha¹²⁴ steno¹²⁵ na¹²⁶
 vidyate¹²⁷ |¹²⁸
 a¹²⁹ tha¹²⁹ ripur¹³⁰ na¹³¹ vidyate¹³² ||7||¹³³

8-8

8-8

8

¹¹¹ = PSK 14.4.7 = ŚS 19.49.7

¹¹² Mā_{1c}: samyā; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: śamyā; ŚS: rāmyā; ŚS_{SPP}: śamyā

¹¹³ ŚS: iha; ŚS_{SPP}: ha

¹¹⁴ Ma_{2c}: mama; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: nāma

¹¹⁵ Kā: taruṣe; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: dadhiṣe

¹¹⁶ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: māma

¹¹⁷ Kā: vipṛśchanti; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: dīpsanti

¹¹⁸ Kā: yo; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: yé

¹¹⁹ Kā: janām; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: dhānā

¹²⁰ Kā: rātri; Pa_c, Gu_c: rātrīr; ŚS: rātry; ŚS_{SPP}: rātrī-

¹²¹ Kā: hīrcan; ŚS; ha; ŚS_{SPP}: -hi

¹²² Kā, Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: na; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: tān

¹²³ Kā, Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: sadapā; ŚS : anu tapa; ŚS_{SPP}: asutapā

¹²⁴ Kā: -ata; ŚS: yāthā; ŚS_{SPP}: ya

¹²⁵ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: stenó

¹²⁶ ŚS: no; ŚS_{SPP}: na

¹²⁷ Kā: vibhyate; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: vidyāte

¹²⁸ Kā: |

¹²⁹ ŚS: yāthā; ŚS_{SPP}: yat

¹³⁰ Pa_c: ripu; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: púnar

¹³¹ Mā_{1c}: nna; Pa_c: nar; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: na

¹³² ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: vidyāte

¹³³ Kā: |

¹³⁴bhadrāsi¹³⁵ rātri¹³⁶ camaso¹³⁷ na¹³⁸ piṣṭo¹³⁹ || viśvam¹⁴⁰
 gorūpaṃ¹⁴¹ yuvatir¹⁴² bibharṣi¹⁴³ |¹⁴⁴
 cakṣuṣmatī¹⁴⁵ me¹⁴⁶ mṛṣatī¹⁴⁷ vapuṃṣi¹⁴⁸ || + prādityaṃ¹⁴⁹
 + divyaṃ¹⁵⁰ + rukmaṃ¹⁵¹ amukthah¹⁵² ||8||¹⁵³

11-11

11-11

¹³⁴ = PSK 14.4.8 = ŚS 19.49.8

¹³⁵ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: bhadrāsi

¹³⁶ Kā: rātris; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: rātri

¹³⁷ Kā: tapaso; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: camasó

¹³⁸ Kā: nu; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: na

¹³⁹ Kā: viṣṭo; ŚS: piṣṭó; ŚS_{SPP}: biṣṭo

¹⁴⁰ ŚS: viśvāṅgām; ŚS_{SPP}: viśvam\

¹⁴¹ Mā_{1c}, Gu_c: gorūpaṃ; ŚS: gām rūpām; ŚS_{SPP}: gorūpaṃ

¹⁴² Kā: yuvatid; Ma_{2c}: yuvati; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: yuvatír

¹⁴³ Kā: vibharṣi; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: bibharṣi

¹⁴⁴ Kā: z

¹⁴⁵ ŚS: cakṣuṣmatīm; ŚS_{SPP}: cakṣuṣmatī

¹⁴⁶ Kā: ve; ŚS: ma; ŚS_{SPP}: me

¹⁴⁷ Kā: yuvatī; Pa_c: mṛṣatīr; Gu_c: mṛjatīr; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: uśatī

¹⁴⁸ Kā: varūpaḥ; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: vāpūṃṣi

¹⁴⁹ Kā: pratyām; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: prādityām; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: prati tvām

¹⁵⁰ Kā: dityām divyām; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: divyām; ŚS: divyās;

ŚS_{SPP}: dīvyā

¹⁵¹ Kā: arukmaṃ; Mā_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: r̥kmām; Ma_{2c}: rukmām; ŚS: tāráka;

ŚS_{SPP}: na kṣam

¹⁵² Kā: amugdhah; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: amukthah

¹⁵³ Kā: |

¹⁵⁴yo¹⁵⁵ adya¹⁵⁶ stena¹⁵⁷ āyaty¹⁵⁸ [[]] aghāyur¹⁵⁹ mṛtyo¹⁶⁰ ripuḥ¹⁶¹ |¹⁶² 8-8
¹⁶³rātrī¹⁶⁴ tasya¹⁶⁵ pratītya¹⁶⁶ [[]] pra¹⁶⁷ + grīvāḥ¹⁶⁸ pra¹⁶⁹ śīro¹⁷⁰ ||9|| 8-8
hanat₁

¹⁵⁴ = PSK 14.4.9 = ŚS 19.49.9

¹⁵⁵ Kā: yu; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: yo

¹⁵⁶ Kā: bhya; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: adyā

¹⁵⁷ Kā: stena; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: stena

¹⁵⁸ Kā: yutv; Ma_{2c}: aya??, manuscript is damaged; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: āyaty

¹⁵⁹ Kā: aghāyu; Ma_{2c}: ???yur; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: aghāyúr

¹⁶⁰ Ma_{2c}: ???yo; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: mártyo

¹⁶¹ ŚS ŚS_{SPP}: ripúḥ

¹⁶² Kā: om. |

¹⁶³ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: rátrī

¹⁶⁴ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: tasya

¹⁶⁵ Kā: pragīyasva; Gu_c: pratyatya; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: pratītya

¹⁶⁶ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: prá

¹⁶⁷ Kā: gīvā; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: grivā; Gu_c: śivā; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: grīvāḥ

¹⁶⁸ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: prá

¹⁶⁹ Pa_c: giro; ŚS: śīro

¹⁷⁰ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: hanat₁

¹⁷¹pra¹⁷²pāda¹⁷³na¹⁷⁴yathāyati¹⁷⁵| pra¹⁷⁶hastau¹⁷⁷na¹⁷⁸
yathāśiṣat¹⁷⁹|
yo¹⁸⁰+malimlur¹⁸¹upāyati¹⁸²| sa¹⁸³sāṃpiṣṭo¹⁸⁴apāyati¹⁸⁵|¹⁸⁶
apāyati¹⁸⁷sv¹⁸⁸apāyati¹⁸⁹| śuṣke¹⁹⁰sthāṇāv¹⁹¹apāyati¹⁹²||10||

8-8

8-8

8-8

¹⁷¹ = PSK 14.4.10 = ŚS 19.49.10

¹⁷² ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: prá

¹⁷³ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: pāda

¹⁷⁴ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: na

¹⁷⁵ Kā: yatahataḥ; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: yathāyati; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: yathāyati

¹⁷⁶ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: prá

¹⁷⁷ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: hástau

¹⁷⁸ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: na

¹⁷⁹ Kā: yanāśiṣat; ŚS: yāthā rīṣat; ŚS_{SPP}: yathā śiṣat

¹⁸⁰ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: yó

¹⁸¹ Kā: mulalam; Mā_{1c}, Gu_c: malimalr; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: malimalar;

ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: malimlúr

¹⁸² Kā: sulapāyati; Mā_{1c}, Gu_c: pāyati; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: upāyati

¹⁸³ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: sa

¹⁸⁴ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: sāṃpiṣṭo

¹⁸⁵ Kā: tapāyati; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: āpāyati

¹⁸⁶ Kā: om. |

¹⁸⁷ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: āpāyati

¹⁸⁸ Kā: om.; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: sv

¹⁸⁹ Kā: om.; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: āpayati

¹⁹⁰ Kā: om.; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: śúkṣe

¹⁹¹ Kā: om.; ŚS: sthalé; ŚS_{SPP}: sthāṇāv

¹⁹² Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Gu_c: apāyata; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: āpāyati

¹andham² rātri³ *[†]tr̥ṣṭadhūmam⁴ || aśīrṣānam⁵ ahim⁶ kṛṇu⁷ |⁸ 8-8
akṣau⁹ vṛkasya¹⁰ nirjahy¹¹ || ā¹² stenam¹³ drupade¹⁴ jahi¹⁵ ||1||¹⁶ 8-8

¹⁷ye¹⁸ te¹⁹ rātry²⁰ anadvāhas²¹ || +[†]tikṣṇaśṛṅgās²² s_uvāśavaḥ²³ |²⁴ 8-8
tebhir²⁵ no²⁶ adya²⁷ pāraya-²⁸ || -a²⁹ti²⁹ durgāṇi³⁰ viśvaha³¹ ||2|| 8-8

¹ = PSK 14.4.11 = ŚS 19.50.1

² Kā: om.; ŚS: āndham; ŚS_{SPP}: adha

³ Kā: om.; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: rātri

⁴ Kā, Mā_{1C}, Ma_{2C}, Pa_C, Gu_C: tiṣṭhadhūmam; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: tr̥ṣṭádadhūmam

⁵ Ma_{2C}: aśīṣānam; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: aśīrṣānam

⁶ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: āhim

⁷ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: kṛṇu

⁸ Kā: om. |

⁹ Kā: hano; ŚS: akṣyáu; ŚS_{SPP}: akṣau

¹⁰ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: vṛkasya

¹¹ Pa_C: nihrās; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: nīrjahy

¹² Pa_C: om.; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: ā

¹³ Kā: tvainam; ŚS: stenaṁ; ŚS_{SPP}: stena tam

¹⁴ Kā: nr̥pate; Mā_{1C}: dapade; Ma_{2C}, Pa_C, Gu_C: dupade; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: drupadé

¹⁵ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: jahi

¹⁶ Kā: |

¹⁷ = PSK 14.4.12 = ŚS 19.50.2

¹⁸ Kā: e; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: yé

¹⁹ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: te

²⁰ Kā: rātriy; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: rātry

²¹ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: anadvāhas

²² Kā: tikṣṇaśṛṅgy; Mā_{1C}, Ma_{2C}, Pa_C, Gu_C: tikṣṇaśṛṅgaḥ; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: tikṣṇaśṛṅgaḥ

²³ Kā: aśvāśavaḥ; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: svāśavaḥ

²⁴ Kā: om. |

²⁵ Kā: tebhīn; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: tébhir

²⁶ Kā: no

²⁷ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: adyá

²⁸ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: pāraya-

²⁹ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: -āti

³⁰ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: durgāṇi

³¹ Kā: viśvaha; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: viśváha

³² rātriṃ-rātriṃ ³³ arīṣyantas ³⁴ tarema ³⁵ tanuvā ³⁶ vayam ³⁷	8-8
gambhīram ³⁹ aplavā ⁴⁰ iva ⁴¹ na ⁴² tareyur ⁴³ arātayaḥ ⁴⁴ 3 ⁴⁵	8-8
⁴⁶ yathā ⁴⁷ + śyāmākāḥ ⁴⁸ prapatan ⁴⁹ pred + diva ⁵⁰ nānu ⁵¹ vidyate ⁵²	8-8
evā ⁵³ rātri ⁵⁴ pra ⁵⁵ pātaya ⁵⁶ yo ⁵⁷ asmāñ ⁵⁸ abhyaghāyati ⁵⁹ 4	8-8

³² = PSK 14.4.13 = ŚS 19.50.3

³³ Kā: rātriṃ-rātris; Ma_{2c}: rātriṃ-rātriṃ; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: rātriṃ-rātriṃ

³⁴ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: āriṣyantas

³⁵ Kā: tadema; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: tārema

³⁶ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: tanvā

³⁷ Mā_{1c}: [????]m; the manuscript seems to have been misplaced during photocopying so that the two ākṣara-s at the beginning of the fourth line of text have been partially cut off; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: vayām

³⁸ Kā: om. |

³⁹ Mā_{1c}: gam?īram; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: gambhīrām

⁴⁰ Kā: apravā; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: āplavā

⁴¹ Kā: yuṣam; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: iva

⁴² ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: nā

⁴³ Kā: tarehur; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: tareyur

⁴⁴ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: ārātayaḥ

⁴⁵ Kā: om. |

⁴⁶ = PSK 14.4.14 = ŚS 19.50.4

⁴⁷ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: yāthā

⁴⁸ Kā: śānyakāḥ; Mā_{1c}: sāmyakāḥ; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: śāmyakāḥ;

ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: śyāmākāḥ

⁴⁹ Kā: prapatan; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: prapātann

⁵⁰ Kā: tedivam; Ma_{2c}: pretivan; Ma_{2cSM}: predivān; ŚS: aparām; ŚS_{SPP}: apava

⁵¹ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: nānu

⁵² ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: vidyāte

⁵³ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: evā

⁵⁴ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: rātri

⁵⁵ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: prá

⁵⁶ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: pātaya

⁵⁷ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: yó

⁵⁸ Kā: smāñ; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: asmāñ

⁵⁹ Kā: abhyaghāyati; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: abhyadhāyati

⁶⁰ apa ⁶¹ stenam ⁶² vāsomatham ⁶³ goajam ⁶⁴ uta ⁶⁵ taskaram ⁶⁶	8-8
atho ⁶⁷ yo ⁶⁸ + arvataś ⁶⁹ śiro ⁷⁰ *bhidhāya ⁷¹ ninīṣati ⁷² 5 ⁷³	8-8
⁷⁴ yad ⁷⁵ adya ⁷⁶ rātri ⁷⁷ subhage ⁷⁸ vibhajanty ⁷⁹ ayo ⁸⁰ vasu ⁸¹ ⁸²	8-8
*tad ehy ⁸³ asmān ⁸⁴ bhrājaya ⁸⁵ -athed ⁸⁶ anyān ⁸⁷ upāyasi ⁸⁸ 6 ⁸⁹	8-8

⁶⁰ = PSK 14.4.15 = ŚS 19.50.5

⁶¹ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: āpa

⁶² Kā: tedenam; ŚS: stenám; ŚS_{SPP}: stenam

⁶³ ŚS: avāsayo; ŚS_{SPP}: vāso

⁶⁴ Kā: gomatham; ŚS: gór ājam; ŚS_{SPP}: goájam

⁶⁵ Kā: u; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: utá

⁶⁶ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: táskaram

⁶⁷ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: átho

⁶⁸ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: yó

⁶⁹ Kā: urvataś; Mā_{1C}, Ma_{2C}, Pa_C, Gu_C: arvataḥ; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: árvataḥ

⁷⁰ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: śíro

⁷¹ Kā: midhāya; Mā_{1C}, Pa_C, Gu_C: 'bhyadaya; Ma_{2C}: 'dhāya; ŚS: 'bhidhāya;
ŚS_{SPP}: bhidhāya

⁷² ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: nínīṣati

⁷³ Kā: |

⁷⁴ = PSK 14.4.16 = ŚS 19.50.6

⁷⁵ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: yád

⁷⁶ Kā: advi; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: adyá

⁷⁷ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: rātri

⁷⁸ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: subhage

⁷⁹ Kā: vibhajant; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: vibhájanty

⁸⁰ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: áyo

⁸¹ Kā: vasuḥ; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: vāsu

⁸² Kā: om. |

⁸³ Kā: yathedy; Mā_{1C}, Ma_{2C}, Pa_C, Gu_C: yad ehy; ŚS: tād etád; ŚS_{SPP}: yád etád

⁸⁴ Kā, Ma_{2C}: asmān; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: asmán

⁸⁵ Kā: itajayā; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: bhojaya

⁸⁶ Kā: yathed; ŚS: yāthedaṃ; ŚS_{SPP}: yāthed

⁸⁷ ŚS: na-; ŚS_{SPP}: anyān

⁸⁸ Kā: upāyati; ŚS: -āpáyati; ŚS_{SPP}: upā yasi

⁸⁹ Kā: |

⁹⁰uṣase⁹¹ naḥ⁹² pari⁹³ dehi⁹⁴ || sarvān⁹⁵ rātrīy⁹⁶ anāgasah⁹⁷ |⁹⁸ 8-8
⁹⁹uṣā⁹⁹ no¹⁰⁰ ahna¹⁰¹ ā¹⁰² bhajād¹⁰³ || ahas¹⁰⁴ tubhyam¹⁰⁵
vibhāvari¹⁰⁶ ||7||¹⁰⁷ 8-8

⁹⁰ =PSK 14.4.17 = ŚS 19.50.7

⁹¹ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: uṣāse

⁹² Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: naḥ; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: naḥ

⁹³ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: pari

⁹⁴ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: dehi

⁹⁵ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: sārvaṇ

⁹⁶ Kā: rātrī; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: rātrīy

⁹⁷ Kā: anākaśa; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: anāgāsaḥ

⁹⁸ Kā: om. |

⁹⁹ Kā: juṣā; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: uṣā

¹⁰⁰ ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: no

¹⁰¹ Kā: ahna-; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: āhna

¹⁰² Kā: om.; ŚS, ŚS_{SPP}: ā

¹⁰³ ŚS: bhajād

¹⁰⁴ ŚS: āhas

¹⁰⁵ Gu_c: tabhyam; ŚS: túbhyam

¹⁰⁶ ŚS: v ibhāvari

¹⁰⁷ Kā: zz zz ity atharvaṇikapaippalādayaś śākhayam caturdaśaḥ kāṇḍas
samāptaḥ zz zz; Mā_{1c}: saptadaśarccakāṇḍaḥ samāptaḥ;
Ma_{2c}: saptadaśarccakāṇḍaḥ; Pa_c: iti paippalādasamhitāyām saptadaśarccyor
nāḥ 14rddha kāṇḍaḥ samāptaḥ; Gu_c: iti saptadaśarccakāṇḍaḥ samāptaḥ

The Rājasūya Waters: PS 14 1 - 2

The ‘divine waters’ are worshipped only in few hymns in the RV, but they are referred to quite often throughout the RV. Under the term ‘waters’ are included flowing waters, regardless of their place or origin, but especially the flowing waters of rivers. These are generally referred to in the context of the Vṛtra myth in which Indra releases the waters being enclosed by Vṛtra. This is one of the fundamental cosmogonic myths of the RV. The waters, being allowed to flow forth, make life possible – rivers, rain, cattle, and progeny. Waters, and flowing waters, also cleanse and purify. They wash away that which ‘sticks’ to the body and defiles the person such as evil (*enas, pāpa*) and disease. They grant remedies and long life.

The present hymn focuses on a specific type of water, namely the waters that are used or produced for the Rājasūya ritual.¹ This royal ritual, which may have existed as a counterpart to the Yajurvedic Aśvamedha in the basic paradigms of the *mahābhiṣeka* (AB) and *ekarājābhiṣeka* (AB), was intended for a king to gain supremacy over other (petty) kings, and thus place him in the position of “king of kings” or emperor. The present hymn is thus an Atharvavedic counterpart of the yearlong classical Rājasūya. The material preserved in this hymn, along with the royal coronation material contained in PS 10,² shows the form of the PS ‘coronation’

¹ On the Rājasūya ritual, see Weber (1893), Schlerath (1960), Heesterman (1957) and H. Kulke (1992).

² PS 10 is presently being studied by Y. Tsuchiyama at Hokkaido University.

ritual is that of a simple *sava*.³ A *sava* is a class of one-day (*ekāha*) rituals that follow the basic Soma paradigm in which an unction (*abhiṣeka*) has been inserted. The unction is essentially an oblation involving consecrated water that is poured on the *yajamāna*. These rites are used on occasions where power is to be stimulated and influence is to be exerted. This ritual, which has been boxed in typical Vedic fashion by additional rituals, is at the core of the classical Rājasūya.

The relationship of Varuṇa to the waters,⁴ which are his specific domain, makes the unction waters of the Rājasūya different from the unction of other Vedic rituals. As compared with other rituals such as the Aśvamedha or Vājapeya where the unction water is a remainder of an oblationary fluid, in the Rājasūya, the waters are the central element of the ritual. In the classical Rājasūya, the unction water consists of 17 kinds of water that are mixed together and purified.⁵ According to Heesterman, the unction waters called *rājasūyāḥ*, is the characteristic feature of this *sava*, also known as Varuṇasava, and the term should be translated as ‘king-engendering’.⁶ This nucleus is in found other *sava*-s: *rājābhiṣeka* (ĀŚS), *mṛtyusava* (BŚS) or *punarabhiṣeka* (AB), *mahābhiṣeka* (AB), *ekarājābhiṣeka* and *laghvabhiṣeka* (KauśS), *prathamābhiṣeka* (AVPar.).

³ See Gonda (1964) and Witzel (1987c).

⁴ See Lüders (1951).

⁵ See Heesterman (1957: 79–90).

⁶ Ibid., 86.

Paippālada Saṃhitā 14.1-2
Translation

With material contained in hymns like ŚS 4.8, this hymns highlights Atharvavedins' preoccupation with having some sort of coronation ritual for the king. However, the Paippalādins alone seem to have been so concerned with this as to produce an entire book, PS 10, dedicated to this type of coronation ritual.

- 1 Attentive, with his two arms Indra, the foreknowing one brought the
 divine waters for Varuṇa.
 All the Āditya-s anointed him (for themselves) as a strong king for great
 battle. Let the Rājasūya-waters help us!
- 2 [The golden colored, shining, pure (waters) in which Kaśyapa was born, in
 which Indra (was born),
 which (waters) having golden color became pregnant with Agni, let those
 tender waters be auspicious to us!
- 3 In the midst of which (waters) King Varuṇa moves along looking down
 upon the truth and falsehood of people,
 which (waters) having golden color became pregnant with Agni, let those
 tender waters be auspicious to us!
- 4 Of which (waters) the gods make food in heaven, which (waters) exist
 manifoldly in the intermediate space,
 which (waters) having golden color became pregnant with Agni, let those
 tender waters be auspicious to us!
- 5 O waters, look upon me with a friendly eye. Touch my skin with a friendly
 manifestation.
 Which (waters) are shining, pure (and) dripping with butter, let those tender
 waters be auspicious to us!]
- 6 They (the Ādityas) grasped (for themselves) the divine waters, which
 contain honey, the vigorous Rājasūya-waters that are nourishment.
 With which (waters) they anointed Mitra and Varuṇa, [let the Rājasūya-
 waters help us!]
- 7 Impelled by Varuṇa, the radiant (waters) go. (Those waters) which are
 divine establish (for themselves) the golden well.
 Which (waters), united by means of a poem, thoroughly cleanse
 (themselves), [let the Rājasūya-waters help us!]
- 8 They (Āditya-s) drive up the waters from lake to heaven. Which (waters)
 pour forth toward the earth from heaven,
 with which (waters) the Maruts, the lords, move along, [let the Rājasūya-
 waters help us!]

- 9 Which (waters) carry immortality, which (waters carry) the beloved honey,
which (waters) the seers grasped in comradeship with the gods,
by means of which (waters) they lead Indra over adversities, [let the
Rājasūya-waters help us!]
- 10 Which (waters) having riches for the living fill up the prize (of the contest)
for the one devoted to the gods, for the mortal one who bestows
(pious gifts).
Of which undecaying (waters) the fluid is undecaying, [let the Rājasūya-
waters help us!]

- 1 Being pure, having golden horns, leading banners, those (waters) which as milk-giving cows praise the lake,
which (waters) Parjanya carries in the intermediate space, [let the Rājasūya-waters help us!]
- 2 When the lofty Rathantara (*sāman* is) being sung, they invigorate rulership. They prolong life-span.
With which (waters) they (Āditya-s) incite (the team) of three horses to win, [let the Rājasūya-waters help us!]
- 3 Together with which (waters), Indra, the slayer of Vṛtra, (drank) Soma,
The ruler of wealth drank of the pressed (Soma).
Which (waters) the seven seers, the poets purify, [let the Rājasūya-waters help us!]
- 4 The seven seers anointed Bharata (as king). On this one here, they placed the kingdom abounding in priestly gifts.
The gods impelled Manu for (the sake of) progeny. [Let the Rājasūya-waters help us!]
- 5 With which (waters) the skillful ones sprinkle the east-facing sacrifice, with which (waters) they purify Soma, mixed with honey,
by means of which (waters) this (world) of living things lives, [let the Rājasūya-waters help us!]
- 6 The drops of which (waters) became full of honey, which (waters) swell as honey, accorded as ghee,
which (waters) lead to Soma by means of poems, [let the Rājasūya-waters help us!]
- 7 In the two footsteps of which (waters there are) butter and curds, which (waters) become pure after the pressing of Soma,
pregnant with a young calf (Agni), abounding in ghee, let the Rājasūya-waters help us!
- 8 Heaven-winning thoughts beget (hymns). The establishing of hymns has come by means of the poem.
The Rājasūya-waters have impelled the fluids. The god Savitr has set in motion all creatures.

- 9 Soma is king. Bhava is king. Paśupati (is king) of animals. Varuṇa who is
 of fixed authority (is king).
 The gods, who were brought forth in the Rājasūya-waters, let them bestow
 long life, strength, and rulership on you.
- 10 The wise one has stood. He has stood up. He has been born. He has
 scattered the scorners. He strengthened (his) two arms (for
 himself).
 Into the distance, he has pushed down complete annihilation afar and the
 sun has filled with rays of light.

The present hymn provides one of the earliest and fullest descriptions of Rudra. It is perhaps the earliest Vedic text where one can see the transition of Rudra's malevolent (*aghora*) aspects to his friendly ones (*śiva*). The poet not only begs Rudra, in typical fashion, not to cause harm but also simultaneously turns the "bad" Rudra into "friendly" Rudra.

Rudra is essentially a minor deity in the RV, having only three entire hymns dedicated to him and mentioned in a few others.⁷ Unlike, Indra, the leading man of the RV, he is not associated with any particular cosmogonic myth. Rudra is routinely described as fierce and destructive. Hymns dedicated to him stress fear of his terrible arrows. The style of hymns to Rudra is different from those addressed to other gods. Whereas Indra and other gods, in typical fashion after the enumeration of their deeds, are asked for something (welfare, progeny, long-life, etc.) by the poets, hymns dedicated to Rudra ask him to refrain from potentially injurious actions. Their immediate purpose is to appease and thus to avert any potential negative effect which may result from Rudra's anger.

However, Rudra's negative character coexists with his more amiable, positive qualities already in the RV.⁸ He possesses healing powers and auspicious remedies.

⁷ Most notably RV 1.114, 2.33, and 7.46.

⁸ Rudra's malevolent aspect is expanded in later texts such as the AV and the YV, where he is constantly asked not to attack or injure. He sends the fever, cough,

In this connection, he is called *jalāṣabheṣaja* ‘possessing healing medicine’. Rudra’s ability to balance opposing qualities seems to have led to the enormous popularity that this deity attains in Classical Hinduism.

That Rudra does not have a share in the sacrifice is well known from TS 3.1.9.3.⁹ In fact, he is called *uccheṣaṇabhāga* ‘he whose share (of the sacrifice) is leftovers.’ He has a place at the end of the sacrifice as Agni Sviṣṭakṛt¹⁰, which completes the main oblations, and thus the sacrifice. This god, who is a ‘stranger’ to the other Ṛgvedic deities,¹¹ must be included in the ritual lest in his anger he should send disease and kill cattle.

In her work on Rudra-Śiva, Doris Srinivasan has re-examined the long held ideas regarding Rudra’s outsider status and has shown that Rudra is more from

and even poison. ŚB 9.1.1.6 it said that even the gods are afraid of his bow and arrow.

⁹ TS 3.1.9.6: Rudra approached him [Manu] as he went about with his cattle in the place of sacrifice and said: ‘These are my cattle.’ He [Manu] replied: ‘They have given them to me.’ ‘They have not the power to do that,’ he replied, ‘whatever is left on the place of sacrifice is mine.’ Then one should not resort to a place of sacrifice. He [Rudra] said: ‘Give me a share in the sacrifice, and I will not have designs against your cattle.’ He poured out for him the remnants of the mixed (Soma). Then indeed had Rudra no designs on his cattle. (Keith 1914: 232-233).

¹⁰ ‘To him they give a share which they cut off for Agni Sviṣṭakṛt. In that he cuts off a share for Agni Sviṣṭakṛt, he gives to Rudra a share. He cuts off one in each case, from Rudra is one as it were. He cuts off from the north part, for this is Rudra’s quarter. Verily he appeases Rudra in his own quarter’ (Keith 1914: 212).

¹¹ The ‘strangeness’ of Rudra/Śiva finds its classical formulation in the Purāṇic story of Dakṣa’s Sacrifice, where many of Śiva’s outsider qualities are enumerated, including his lack of share of the sacrifice.

within the Vedic tradition than from outside.¹² “Belief in the predominantly Vedic nature of Rudra-Śiva stems from the way his character relates to that of several important Vedic gods, and the way in which his function relates to the Vedic sacrifice.”¹³ Srinivasan compares Rudra to some of the major Vedic deities – Varuṇa, Mitra-Varuṇa, Indra, Vāyu, Agni, and Soma – and concludes that these deities, who stem from the oldest stratum of Vedic religion and reach back to the Indo-Iranian period, share many of the characteristics of Rudra, especially the capacity for ambivalence.¹⁴ Ambivalence, the trait that has been used to place Rudra outside of the Vedic tradition is on closer inspection one which is common to Vedic deities.¹⁵

However, it is Srinivasan’s analysis of Rudra’s nature as *uccheṣaṇabhāga* that establishes him as essential rather than an outsider to the ritual. This aspect of Rudra in relation to the sacrificial remainder (*ucchiṣṭa*) makes him essential for the successful completion of the ritual. In Srinivasan’s view, quoting Heesterman, the remainder “like the extra element in numerical systems it encompasses, expresses

¹² Srinivasan’s hypothesis hinges on the inclusion of Rudra into the ritual and the general ambivalence that is also part of other Vedic deities. However, she does not really address many of the foreign characteristics that are associated with Rudra. For a summary of Rudra’s foreign characteristics, see Dandekar (1991: 199-277). Although his evolutionary mythology does not provide a solution to the issue of Rudra’s outsider status, he provides key data about Rudra.

¹³ Srinivasan (1997: 47).

¹⁴ On the ambivalent position of Varuṇa, see Kuiper (1979).

¹⁵ Ibid., 52.

the whole and is at the same time the principle of continuity, the seed of a new production cycle.”¹⁶ In other words, the distribution and consumption of the ritual remnant is essential to the very definition and success of the ritual.

This is already well known from the Vedic texts themselves. In KĀ 2.143,¹⁷ a discussion about how to dispose of the remnant of the ritual offering, the question of how to properly use this leftover portion ensues. The conclusion is that the remnant of the offering must be smelled in order to prevent waste. Not eating the remnant of the offering would cancel its value as an offering. Eating the remnant, however, is not allowed for humans.¹⁸ Therefore, one should smell the remnant in order to complete the cycle of offering. Smelling is considered a form of eating since that is how the gods eat. They consume the *medha* ‘aroma’ of the offering that has been transubstantiated by the fire.¹⁹

¹⁶ Ibid., 54.

¹⁷ *prāśyā3, ná prāśyā3 íti mīmāṃsante. yát prāśnīyāt prākārukas syād; yán ná prāśnīyād áhavis syād. ávajighred. ubháyam evá karoti* “They thought: should one eat it or not eat it? If he should eat (it), that would be wasteful. If he should not eat it, that would not be an oblation. He should smell it. Then, he does both (eat and not eat).”

¹⁸ This is quite different from the later Hindu *pūjā* in which the human devotee is expected to consume the leftovers (*juthā*) of the deity. In *pūjā*, the question of pollution is settled. Since humans are impure as compared to gods and their leftovers (which are normally polluting), it is all right for humans to consume the food that has been eaten by a god. In the Vedic ritual, purity and pollution do not seem to be the issue. Rather, the question at hand is how to dispose of a ‘ritually charged’ remnant properly.

¹⁹ Cf. Lopez (1997).

Srinivasan has applied this rationale to Rudra as the receiver of the remnant.²⁰ She concludes: “far from signaling the god’s estrangement from the Vedic ritual as has sometimes been assumed...the epithet probably emphasizes Rudra’s ability to sustain the continuation of the rites.” He achieves this continuation by allowing the inherently powerful offering to continue to be recycled through the cosmic cycle in which humans offer to the gods and the gods give something back, *ucchiṣṭa*, in the form of rain, cattle, progeny, and renewed inspiration. By taking the remnant, Rudra completes the cycle that allows the offering to circulate within the closed Vedic universe.

The present PS hymn provides evidence of the transition from Rudra to Śiva. The transition can be seen in the numerous times the word *śiva* is applied to his weapons: 14.3.5 friendly [arrows]; 14.3.6 with friendly words; 14.3.7 friendly bow, friendly shower of arrows; 14.3.8 friendly body; 14.45 friendly quiver; and 14.4.4 *śivo naś śambhur ā cara* ‘as a friendly one, as a benevolent one, approach us’.

The text of this hymn, which is found in all of the YV saṃhitā-s and has been independently transmitted outside of its PS context as the Nīlarudra Upaniṣad, provides another specimen with which to study the transmission of Vedic texts after the formation of the Vedic canon, as well as their eventual fate in ‘classical Hinduism.’ Although this is not the place for a full investigation in to the nature of such post-Vedic transmission, a few words may be said here.

²⁰ This rational is behind her thinking, but nowhere in her work 1997 work does Srinivasan mention the above quoted passage.

The independent transmission of portions of larger texts is not unknown in Vedic literature itself. Within each school, additional material was eventually attached to brāhmaṇas, which were not the work of a single author. These additions were often of the nature of esoteric material explaining the ‘secret’ meaning of particular actions and words of rituals. Such additional material has been traditionally categorized under the category āraṇyaka to reflect that such material deal with secret, dangerous rituals that were performed outside the village, where the rooftops of houses could not be seen, according to TĀ2. Other such speculative material was categorized as upaniṣad. The distinction between these two categories is rather fluid.

It is this very fluidity between genres of texts that may have led to the independent treatment and transmission of portions of Vedic texts. One example is the Kena Upaniṣad. The upaniṣad portion of the Jaiminīya Upaniṣad- Brāhmaṇa (JUB), 4.18-21, according to M. Fujii²¹ must have been transmitted independently from an early period. Even though the oral tradition of the JUB has been lost, present Tamil Jaiminīyas still recite the KU. More evidence of the independent transmission of the KU is provided by Śaṅkara who in his commentaries on this upaniṣad,²² remarked that it was the beginning of the ninth *adhyāya* of larger text.²³

²¹ See Fujii (1997).

²² This is still in need of further study, as we still do not know exactly how Śaṅkara came to know these texts. Did he recite them or did he study them with manuscripts? If the latter, then we need to see what his texts looked like – were

A similar scenario²⁴ can be expected for the independent transmission of the present PS hymn as the Nīlarudra Upaniṣad. It is conceivable that as the popularity of Rudra-Śiva grew in the late Vedic period into the Epic period when the present text was taken and used for the worship of Śiva.²⁵ A detailed study of the transmission of this upaniṣad, as well as many others, should reveal many details about the transition from Vedic culture and religion to the classical Hinduism as already seen in the Epics and fully expressed in the Purāṇa-s

they comparable to our modern editions? In addition, since Śaṅkara provides us with one of the earliest list of Vedic texts, and especially the upaniṣad-s, it will be important for future research to figure out if certain texts by his time (ca. 8th century) such as the KU, NU, etc., were already being transmitted and studied independently of their brāhmaṇa. Cf. Witzel (1997).

²³ Śaṅkara's Brāhmasūtrabhāṣyā 3.3.5.

²⁴ Another such example is the Īśā Upanishad, a middle level upaniṣad, which has been transmitted as the 40th chapter of the Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā.

²⁵ However, the significance of Rudra/Śiva must have been well known by the Mantra period since the Nīlarudra text has also been preserved in VS, MS, KS, and TS. Given the ritual significance of Rudra noted above, it is not surprising to find this text preserved by YV ritualists.

- 1 I saw you descending from the heavenly (place) down to earth.
I saw Rudra shooting (his bow), the blue-necked one, the tufted one.
- 2 As a strong one, you have descended from the sky. You have stood on the
earth.
O people, behold this one, the blue-necked one, the deep red-colored one.
- 3 This one here (who is) a non-killer of heroes, Rudra who possesses healing
medicine approaches.
He has destroyed your missile-wounds. Let your *vāṭikāra* be scattered in
different directions.
- 4 Glory to your anger, O Bhava. Glory to your wrath, O Bhava.
Glory to your two arms and glory to your arrow.
- 5 O you inhabiting mountains, which arrow you hold in (your) hand for
shooting,
make that mountain-leaning (arrow) friendly. Do not harm my men.
- 6 With friendly words, O mountain-lord, we salute you,
so that for us just the entire world will be free of consumption (*yakṣma*)
(and) pleasant.
- 7 Your arrow which (became) the most friendly (and) your bow which
became friendly, (and)
your shower of arrows which (became) friendly, with that have pity for
us to live.
- 8 Your presence, O Rudra, which (is) friendly, (which is) non-terrifying, and
not evil-looking,
with that most beneficent presence, O mountain-dweller, look at us.
- 9 This one who (is) copper-red colored, ruddy and brown (and) deep red
and those who
(are) the howlers (who) lean in all directions by the thousands, we ask
forgiveness of their anger.
- 10 I have seen you descending, the blue-necked one, the deep red-colored one.
And herdsmen have seen you and the women who carry the water (have
seen you). And all creatures (have seen) you. Glory to you, to that
visible one.

- 1 Let there be homage to that blue-tufted one, who is thousand-eyed (and) swift.
Moreover, those who are his warriors (*gaṇas*), to these ones I have done homage (to you).
- 2 Homage to your strong weapon that is not yet strung.
I have done homage to both (your) two arms (and) your bow.
- 3 Release from the bow the string (fixed) on both ends.
And those arrows (which are) in your hand, you threw them, O Bhagavan.
- 4 Having unstrung the bow, O thousand-eyed one, O hundred-quivered one, having shattered the tips of the arrows, as a friendly one, as a benevolent one approach us!
- 5 Stringless (was) the bow of the tufted one and tipless (was his) arrow.
His arrows have been destroyed. His quiver has become friendly.
- 6 The missile of your bow, let (it) avoid us on all sides.
Moreover, lay that which is your quiver down afar (and) in this (place) here.
- 7 O Bountiful one, which missile of yours (and) your bow was in your hand, by means of that is free of consumption (*yakṣma*), you must encompass us from all sides.

The offering of the śataudanā-cow: PS XIV 5-7

This hymn reveals that the Paippalādains desire their hymns and ritual to achieve high prestige among Vedic rituals. The hymn offers a catalogue of the most important śrauta rituals – Vājapeya, Agniṣṭoma, Atirātra, Aśvamedha, and Agnihotra – at the time of the composition/redaction of the PS. The Paippalādins place their ritual – the *śataudanāsava*²⁶ – presented in the hymn, as being the most beneficial. They do this by continually stating the benefits obtained by each of the other rituals and then saying that the offering of the *śataudanā*-cow surpasses even these results.

This fits well with the general tendency of the Paippalādins to present themselves in a light that makes them seem necessary for the success of the sacrificer, especially of the king. In this hymn, a new ritual a new ritual is presented that is even more potent than the other well-known *śrauta* rituals and, of course, the king would need a Paippalādin as his *purohita* to properly perform this ritual.

The archaic guise of this ritual was achieved by the use of the cow and the *odana* in this ritual.²⁷ The *odana* is well known already since the RV from the famous story of Aditi and the birth of the Ādityas in RV 10.72. This story is retold

²⁶ Among 22 *sava*-s listed in KauśS twelve involve animals, including the *śataudanasava*, KauśS 65.1, “in which a barren cow (*vaśā*-) is slaughtered and, in accordance with the name of the rite, offered together with a hundred portions of cooked rice” (Gonda 1964: 64).

²⁷ For a recent discussion of *odana* within the complex of Vedic sacrifice, see Heesterman (1993).

and expanded in the saṃhitā-s of the YV.²⁸ The myth is one of the essential myths of Vedic culture.²⁹ First, it explains the birth of humanity as a ritual mistake that is ‘fixed’ by the Āditya-s. Having offered a cooked *odana* to the gods, Aditi obtains a pair of sons after she eats from the *ucchiṣṭa* of the *odana*. Thinking that she might obtain an even better pair of sons if she eats before offering, she gives birth to Mārtāṇḍa, an aborted, dead egg. The Ādityas revive the dead egg from which Vivasvant is born. Vivasvant is the father of Yama and Manu, who in India, is the first mortal.

Kuiper notes that *odana* is a foreign, non-Indo-Aryan word and religious concept in the ṚV.³⁰ Its context is the myth about the archer who cuts open a mountain with his arrow, kills the boar Emuṣa, and obtains the *odana*. This myth is found mainly in ṚV 8 – 8.63.9, 69.14, 77.6-11, 96.2, and 1.61.17.³¹

Odana rituals, according to Gonda, are “indeed, a central right, in a way a substitute for a Soma sacrifice, and essentially intended to secure for the sacrifice

²⁸ MS 1.6.12, KS 11.6, TS 6.5.6, and ŚB 3.1.3.3-4.

²⁹ This myth has been treated in some detail by Hoffmann (1976) and recently by Jamison (1991).

³⁰ Kuiper (1991: 14)

³¹ It is interesting to note that these hymns are part of the Kāṇva frame around the core books of the ṚV. Kuiper considers the Kāṇva-s to be non-Aryans because of references to Kāṇva-s as *abrāhmaṇa-s* (KS 28.4). He also does not believe that *kāṇva* can be explained from *kṛṇva* since the phonetic development *ṛṇ* > *aṇ* does not happen in the ṚV. On *kṛṇva*, see PS 13.5.9n above.

the heavenly region.”³² These rites were obviously considered important enough by the YV ritualist to be adapted and incorporated into the classical Soma ritual as part of the pre-Soma sequence of setting up the *śrauta* fires, the Agnyādheya.³³

Another somewhat archaic feature used in this hymn is the method of killing the sacrificial animal, in this case the cow, by stoning her.³⁴ This contrasts sharply with the Ṛgvedic method of decapitating the animal as well as the *śrauta* method of suffocating the sacrificial animal outside the *vedi*.

³² Gonda (1964: 59).

³³ See Gonda (1964: 53-63) and Heesterman (1993: 90-95).

³⁴ See below PS 14.5.4n.

Paippālāda Samhitā 14.5
Translation

Paippālāda Samhitā 14.5

1. She who yields what one wishes, having beautiful sides, has come to us,
the *śataudanā*-cow, overflowing with milk,
giving vigor as milk, not kicking, prolonging long life-span for the
sacrificer.
- 2 I grasp her who is fit for sacrifice and willing for well being, the sappy
one, who is free from disease (and) of good intention.
Let all my space be among gods. Putting confident intention (in the
efficacy of the sacrifice), I cook the *śataudanā*-cow.
- 3 Bind the divine one. Deliver her who is eating, the *śataudanā*-cow.
Indeed, this one here is the wish-granting (cow).
Proding (her), do not harm her with the stone. Moreover, let her go to the
gods. She passes over (our) enemies.
- 4 Take hold of that one (cow) that is sacred to all the gods, the *śataudanā*-
cow by means of a poem. One hundred evils (are) hers.
Striking (her) with the knotty stone, cause this one to rise to the heavenly
world.
- 5 Indeed, strongly cutting apart this cut apart one (and) beating off (her)
skin, mix (her) with refreshment.
The daughter of Virāj, anointed with refreshment, let (her) yield every wish
for the sacrificer.
- 6 Cutting (the *śataudanā*-cow) limb by limb, do not overthink. Name (each
name of the cow) separately.
This one who previously belonged to men, who has been in front has gone
to the gods, the *śataudanā*-cow (who has) many forms (and) who
has golden color.
- 7 The man who is two-footed (and) two-handed, who has great self-
control holds the sacrificial pole with a hook (on top).
With that (pole), knowing the limbs of that one who not to be killed (the
cow), disperse the divine *śataudanā*-cow in one hundred ways.
- 8 Cut straight that pale red (portion) of (her) skin. Having measured that,
now disperse (her) in one hundred ways.
Attach (them) up together, (put) down all the receptacles. Give increase
of wealth to the sacrificer.

- 9 I rest the cooking pot on the fire with a sacred verse (*ṛc*). I carry you, the earth, on top of the earth.
(You pot), bearing water and flesh, do not waver. Let *pīśāca-s* not slay you with their revenge.
- 10 Proceed upward! Do not tremble. Disperse the region of clouds in the middle.
You, having crossed beyond all *raṁśasa-s*, then ascend the sky.

- 1 Go to heaven, O *śataudanā*-cow. Become the path for one thousand.
Become ten thousand (and) one hundred thousand! Then, become
imperishable!
You have ascended the heavenly world.
- 2 They partake of the *śataudanā*-cow in one hundred ways. He (the
sacrificer) who gives, he climbs one hundred steps.
The two sides are the Vāmadevya (and) the Naudasa (*sāman-s*). On the
third step on the highest point of the sky, (she) is situated.
- 3 The *śataudanā*-cow, being arranged in one hundred (ways), who is
heaven-going makes (for herself) a hundred forms.
Let her who is divine (and) easily-invoked grant us protection. Thus, she
will have pity for such (as we).
- 4 The *śataudanā*-cow, measured out in twelve-day portions, who is heaven-
going sent forth one hundred *pr̥ṣṭha stotra-s*.
She who encompasses all sacrifices from far away, may she establish the
giver (sacrificer) in increased wealth.
- 5 O *śataudanā*-cow, approach the ones who have sacrificed, the warriors of
Soma.
Having obtained all sacrifices, may you be the path of the fulfillment of
wishes.
- 6 O *śataudanā*-cow, approach. Cross over the sacrificers by means of the
sacrifice.
You ascended to those who strive after gods, there where the third heaven
of the firmament (is).
- 7 The *śataudanā*-cow is the first, whose footprints are refreshment. Indeed,
your middle is truth (and) your head (is) immortality.
Divine one, you fill up both heaven and earth.
- 8 Verily, your two hips and your two thighs (are) the force of active truth.
And, your two forefeet, indeed, that is for strength.
Your two sides (which are) the (rennet) stomach (*vanīṣṭhu*) and (rumen)
stomach (*jāthara*) (are heaven and earth). The *śataudanā*-cow
obtained all the worlds.

- 9 The *śataudanā*-cow is the first one endowed with sight. Indeed, your eye
 is the sun and the moon.
 United with the all-gods (and) seasons, you will cause the giver to be
 satisfied with satisfaction.
- 10 A hundred are (her) fluids. A hundred are her calves. They distribute her
 who was cooked in a hundred ways.
 The seven worlds are fixed onto heaven. As the first one, you conquered
 the seven worlds, O *śataudanā*-cow.

- 1 When you, who are one hundred-*mānas*, go with one thousand as the first one, you conquered the worlds, O *śataudanā*-cow.
And the Vājapeya, which comprises all of one's property (she completely obtained). The *śataudanā*-cow completely obtained all worlds.
- 2 Indra, as the first, you drank the *śataudanā*-cow, being gracious to the seven seers.
He took the strength (and) vigor of the *āsura-s* by means of her. He ascended the summits, the worlds of the gods, by means of her.
- 3 This one (who is) Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Atri, Bharadvāja, this one (who is) Gotama, Vasiṣṭha,
(and) Kaśyapa, let the seven (seers), now, as the first ones, taste the cooked one, the *śataudanā*-cow.
- 4 The *śataudanā*-cow, as the first one, the luminous one, who is heaven-going, makes (for herself) the three lights (of the triple world).
Where the givers subsist upon her, there (in that place) they feast with the gods.
- 5 The *śataudanā*-cow, having the meters as wings, the high one, the heaven-going one, emitted the three meters (Gāyatrī, Triṣṭubh and Jagatī).
They found her lord, the overlord of the seasons, the year.
- 6 Having surpassed the Agniṣṭoma, (having surpassed) the Atirātra,
O *śataudanā*-cow,
having obtained all sacrifices, reach the fire to be arranged, (Agnicayana ritual).
- 7 Having surpassed that which is related to the Aśvamedha, (having surpassed) the twelve-day (ritual), O *śataudanā*-cow,
having obtained the three-night (ritual and) the one-day (ritual), she is arranged in accordance with the Vājapeya ritual.
- 8 (Those) who sacrifice with one thousand (rituals) and (those) who have offered Agnihotra-s,
(and those) who have sacrificed with all the sacrifices, the *śataudanā*-cow obtain these (sacrificers).

- 9 Auspiciously, I place your joints, O you having a good share. Auspiciously,
 they become your flesh in the correct way (in heaven).
 Which bones of yours the butcher has crushed let Tvaṣṭṛ prepare
 that (part of you) which has been separated (by the butcher).
- 10 Which worlds were conquered by sacrifice, and which (worlds) the meters
 share,
 he obtains all those worlds who gives the *śataudanā*-cow.

This is one of only a handful of hymns addressed to the Night (*rātrī*) in the AV.³⁵ In the RV, there is only one hymn addressed to the Night, RV 10.127, in which she is paired in a number of stanzas with her sister, Uṣas ‘Dawn.’ The present AV hymn, which is ŚS 19.49-50, treats the Night independently of her sister Uṣas. The present hymn picks up the theme of praising and praying to the Night for protection against dangers such as wolves, thieves, and robbers who come in the night. Rātrī is not conceived as the dark night that brings danger, but rather as the radiant, shining night. She spreads over the land with her brilliant light .

³⁵ From Whitney’s index to the translation of the AV, the following hymns are identified as addressed to the Night: 7.8, 19.47-50. See also PS 1.103.

1. The night, the vigorous young woman devoted to the house of Bhaga (and) of Savitr,
well-invoked, endowed with prosperity, who is swift as horses, (she)
filled heaven, and earth with greatness.
- 2 She who is deep has descended on every (thing). She who is most untiring
has ascended the highest (point of the night sky).
Along the summit, the night, the eager one, the prosperous one spreads
out, like Mitra by his own powers.
- 3 O one to be chosen, to be praised, who has a good share, well born one, O
night, you have come near. May you be one who has good thoughts
here.
Save us (and) those (things) born that are suitable for humans, which are
our cattle, our wealth.
- 4 The night, the eager one, took the luster of the lion, of the deer, of the
tiger, of the leopard,
the ruddy color of the horse, (and) the cleverness of man. Shining one,
you make (for yourself) many forms.
- 5 Let the mother of the snow be easily invoked for us.
You of good share, take notice of this praise with which I greet you – the
friendly night and sun in the day – in all directions.
- 6 O shining night, like a king you will enjoy (our song) of praise.
We will be ones who have all heroes. We will become ones having all
property along the dawns shining in various directions.
- 7 Indeed, you assumed praiseworthy names. The Night who is friendly (and)
has good cots for us.
(Those) who desire to harm my booty (are not found), the thief is not
found (and) then cheater is not found.
- 8 O night, you are auspicious like the adorned *camasa*-dish. As a young
woman, you contain everything having the form of cattle.
Endowed with eyes, touching beautiful forms for me, you have released the
heavenly, radiant sun around.

Paippālada Saṃhitā 14.8
Translation

- 9 The thief who will come today (and) the mortal cheater intending to injure,
the night, having gone toward (him), will cut off (his) neck and (his) head.
- 10 (She will cut off) his two feet, so he will not come. (She will cut off) his two hands, so he will not remain.
The thief who will approach, he, being completely crushed, will go away.
He will go away. He will go well away. He will go away towards the withered trunk.

- 1 O night, make Ahi blind as dry smoke (and) headless
Beat out the two eyes of the wolf. Beat the thief bound at the pole.
- 2 O night, whose oxen (are) sharp-horned (and) very fast,
today by means of those (oxen), cause us to pass over difficulties at all
times.
- 3 Unhurt, we wish to cross every night with the body.
As those without floats (can not cross) the deep (water) (so our) enemies
should not cross.
- 4 As millet flying forth is not found along even in daytime,
thus, O night, cause him forth who intends to injure us to fly
- 5 (Away) the thief, the garment stealer and (away) the cattle-driving robber.
Moreover, (away cattle robber) who having put (a halter) around the
head of the running (horse) wishes to lead (it away).
- 6 Today, O night of good share, when you will go sharing wealth,
then come to us with brightness (and). Then, you will go along to others.
- 7 Give us to the Dawn, O night, all who are without blemish!
The Dawn will grant us to the day. The day (is) for you, O shining one.

1. 1a Tr. Uncommon cadence – – ∪ x.

apo devīr: These are the waters released by Indra from the Vala after his demiurgic act of separating the heaven and earth. For a general discussion of the heavenly waters, see Lüders (1951), Kuiper (1983: 138-150), and Witzel (1984, 1995a).

The one being anointed must be Indra who by means of the unction waters of the Rājasūya is being made identical with Varuṇa, as king, as well as with Agni. This union in the person of the king implies a unity or totality of the universe. See Heesterman (1957: 79-90).

2. Cf. ŚS 1.33.1, TS 5.6.1.1

suvarṇa: This divine aspect of the waters, in this case the Rājasūya-waters, is related to Av. *x'arənah*, with the reconstructed Vedic form **svarṇas*. Lake Vourukaṣa is the source of *x'arənah* 'royal splendor'. The waters of this lake, like the Rājasūya-waters of this hymn, contain the force or power that is established upon the king, and allows him to rule. See PS 14.2.2n above and Witzel (1987c).

Agni is often identified with Apām Nāpat 'the son of the waters,' cf. RV 2.35. The union of the waters and Agni, according to Heesterman (1957: 87-88), represents the union of priestly and royal power. This union in the Rājasūya produces the king as the focal point where these two spheres of power intercept and interact. Cf. ŚaṅkŚS 15.3.3. The waters thus contain the 'radiance' (*varcas*) of the sun, which they then pass on to the sacrificer/king. The union of priestly and royal

power is also represented by the union of Agni and Soma (the golden waters are his share).

3. Cf. RV 7.49.3, ŚS 1.33.2, TS 5.6.1.1.

yāsām rājā varuṇo...avapaśya: Varuṇa is the god of the primeval waters under the earth, of the 'stone house' in the nether world and of the night sky. These waters must refer to his abode which during the night is understood to hang over the earth in an inverted position, as has been shown by Kuiper (1983) and further elucidated by Witzel (1984, 1995a) and Brereton (1991). Thus, one can understand the idea expressed in RV 5.85.3 that Varuṇa poured out the cask with its rim turned downward, over heaven, earth and the intermediate space. These waters, and thus Varuṇa's abode, must be the waters beyond the sky, namely, the Milky Way, the 'ocean' or 'lake' that moves in the night and the waters in the sky.

satyānrta: PS 14.1.3ab = RV 7.49.3ab: *yāsām rājā varuṇo yāti mādhye satyānrte avapaśyañ jánānām*. The expected opposition of *rta* vs. *anrta* and *rta* vs. *sarya* is found a few times in the RV. The reason for these multiple oppositions is the large semantic sphere covered by *rta*. Like other difficult Sanskrit words – *dharman*, *bráhmaṇ*, and *śraddhā* – *rta* expresses an aggregate of ideas and concepts that has no immediate equivalent in other languages. *rta* encompasses several important concepts including cosmic law, order, human law, customs, as well as truth. It is best understood in opposition to *druh* (Av. *druj*) 'to deceive, to lie, doing harm'. This opposition makes clear that an understanding of *rta* as moral law, order or truth is not sufficient, but that rather, as suggested by M. Witzel (1996:

172), it can best be understood as the force active truth (Wahrheitsverwirklichung). Thus, *ṛta* as the power of active truth encompasses not only the idea of truth-speech but also the idea of actions that are dictated or engendered by a truth-speech (i.e. vows).

As Krick (1982: 200) points out, *ṛta* as “überpersönliche Gesetzmäßigkeit der Weltordnung” is opposed to *satya* as “sichtbare Wahrheit (aktuelle Wirklichkeit, das Wahrmachen von Aussagen und Versprechungen, das Wirklich-Statt-finden von Kämpfen).” If we understand *ṛta* this way, then the opposition *satya* vs. *anṛta* in our compound becomes clearer. The sphere of *satya* seems to be limited to truth that can be put into a verbal formula. Lüder (1951) stressed the important relation between *mantra* and *satya* as a way of understanding *satya* as magical speech. The limited scope of *satya* as spoken truth is seen clearest in *satyakriyā*-s, where *satya* seems to be preferred over *ṛta* in the formulation of these statements. Cf. Thompson (1998: 134-136). Watkins (1995: 85-93) notes that *ṛtena* is used in some *satyakriyā* formulas in the specific context of kingship. Furthermore, the use of *anṛta* with *śvad* and *śvac* ‘to speak’ and in compounds with *śvad* narrows the sphere of *anṛta* ‘untruth’ is that of the spoken word - of a conceptualization which can be put into words. *ṛta*, on the other hand, seems to refer generally to the cosmic, mechanistic process that encompasses the power of truth (*satya*), which cannot be easily put into words. Thus, *satya* refers to spoken truth and *anṛta*, its opposite, refers to untrue speech (and thus ineffective in leading to the proper action or activity). Lüders made this clear already in his discussion of AV 4.16.

This hymn, which Thieme terms ‘a versified admonition to speak the truth,’ helps to clarify the relationships of these two terms: *sināntu sārve anṛtaṃ vādantaṃ yaḥ satyavādyāti tāṃ sṛjantu* |6| *satyēna pāsair abhī dhehi varuṇainaṃ mā te mocy anṛtavān nṛcakṣaḥ* |7|. ‘Let all bind him speaking untruth. (He) who is speaking truth, let them let him go. With one hundred fetters, O Varuṇa, harness him. Let the untruthful ones not be released by you. O you who are watching over people.’

This is echoed in Manu 8.82ab: *sākṣye ’nṛtaṃ vadan pāsair badhyate vāruṇair bhrśam* ‘He who speaking untruth in testimony, is bound strongly by the fetters of Varuṇa.’ See Bergaigne (1878) and Oberlies (1998: 346-47).

4. Cf. ŚS 1.33.3, TS 5.6.1.1.

yāsāṃ devā divi kṛṇvanti bhakṣaṃ: This connection the waters in heaven, which are *madhumatīḥ* ‘contain honey’ (see n. 6 below), with the idea of heavenly nourishment is expressed in this verse. The idea of heaven as a place of unending supply of nourishment is present already in the RV, for example RV 9.113.10. TS 1.7.3.4 clearly speaks of food (*anna*) that does not diminish in heaven. JB 1.42 similarly describes heaven as a place where one eats from the endless rivers of honey. AV 12.3.6 speaks of both firmaments (*nabhasī*) and both worlds (*lokā*) that are *jyōtiṣmān mādhumānyor* ‘filled by light, filled with honey.’ Cf. TS 5.6.2.1-2. The opposite of heaven, namely *nirṛti*, is said to be a place without light or food. See Lopez (1997).

5. Cf. ŚS 1.33.4, TS 5.6.1.2.

5b Jg. Rare opening x ◡ – –. Uncommon break – | – ◡. Uncommon cadence ◡ – ◡ – x. The opening, break, cadence distribution in the RV is 417 | 418 | 25. The obvious solution seems to be to take out *upa*, which would produce a triṣṭubh with a statistically better opening, break, and cadence. However, there are no certain grounds on which to make such a decision. Both branches of the tradition attest the verse with 12 syllables. There is no variant of this verse based on which one might find support to correct the present reading. See PS 14.3.2 n below. 5c Tr. Uncommon cadence – – ◡ x.

tanū: For a recent discussion on the terminology for the self see J.R. Gardner *The Developing Terminology for the Self in Vedic India*, a University of Iowa (thesis), 1998. Following the semiotic methodology laid out by Elizarenkova (1995), Gardner's work makes a distinction between the human and divine spheres of speech in reference to terms for the self. He concludes that *tanū* does not always refer to the physical body but that quite often, especially in reference to gods, means something like impression, manifestation, or *gestalt*. See 13.3.8n above.

6. 6a Tr. Caesura falls within a compound.

āpas as well as all other adjectives in pāda ab are formally nominative plurals. However, *āpas* is already used as an accusative six times in RV 1 and 10 (according to Grassman). Whitney (1881) notes *āpas* as accusative plural 13 times. Macdonell (1910: 217) notes 16 occurrences. All other adjectives in pāda ab can also be read as either nominatives or accusative plurals.

madhu: Honey in the Vedic, especially in the RV, is still connected to the idea of a drink or food of the gods. RV 8.4.8 informs us of a drink consisting of milk and honey, which according to AV 9.11.2 is the custom of the Atharvavedins. In the RV, honey is particularly associated with the Aśvins who are said to be *madhūyu* 'eager for sweetness,' *madhupā* 'honey-drinkers,' and *mādhvī* 'sweet.' They are said to be the source of honey and to grant it to the bees – RV 1.112.21 and 10.40.6. In comparison to other gods, they are never called *somapā* 'Soma-drinkers, even though they are offered Soma (as late comers to the sacrifice).

The association of water with honey is also well known from RV. In the RV 1.23.16, the waters, as mothers, are said to mix their *payas* (fluid, milk) with honey. Similarly, RV 7.471-2 speaks of the waters which contain honey and which are *ghṛtaprūṣa* 'sprinkling honey' as the drink that exhilarated Indra into battle. Cf. RV 10.30.4, 7-9.

The 'waters that carry honey' also draws attention to the old Indo-European idea of an intoxicating drink of the gods. This drink, usually thought to be located in heaven, was acquired by the bird a god (the eagle of Indra, the eagle of Zeus), or the god himself in the form of a bird (Odin who carried the mead away in the form of a bird). Puhvel (1987: 256-268) has discussed the importance of this heavenly drink in relation to the proto-Indo-European **ek'wo-medhyo*, 'horse drink' attesting a ritual which included both a horse and drunkenness. The association of fermented honey, Gk. *mead*, with the idea of drunkenness and of grasping the Truth is also known from Yasna 10.8: *vīspe zī anniē maḍāṇō aēšma hacīnte*

xruuīm.druuō / āaṭ hō yō haomahe maḍō aṣa hacaite uruuāsmāna “all other intoxicants are accompanied by Wrath with the bloody club; but the intoxication which is Haoma’s is accompanied by gladdening Truth.” In Greek mythology, the Bee Maidens of Mount Parnassos when fed honey achieve a state of ecstasy and tell (*alētheiē*) ‘truth,’ but when deprived of the fermented honey they *pseúdontai* ‘lie.’ See Nagy (1990: 59-60). Similarly, the *Prose Edda* (*Skāldskaparmál*) tells how a wise man Kvasir, born out of two warring parties, spitting into a crock (a primitive method of inducing fermentation) was killed by dwarfs. They mixed his blood with honey and thus produced the *mead* of poetry. See Puhvel (1987: 210-11). In Vedic, we find traces of this motif as well. In AV 6.69.2, the poet asks the Ásvins to anoint him with honey so that he may speak ‘brilliant words,’ of course the truth. See also Hillebrandt (1891), Oldenberg (1894), Macdonell (1897), and Mallory (1989).

7. **hiranyam**: Both *hiranya* and *hiranyaya* are attested in the RV, with the latter being used most often. *Hiranya* fits in this context and is called for on metrical considerations. However, we already find *utso...hiranyayam* in the RV 8.61.6, 9.107, AV 20.118.2, as well as SV 1.511, 2.25 and 2.930.

utsam: The well from which the waters sprang forth was located under the earth but appears in the sky or rather rotates up to the sky during the night. Cf. RV 5.32.1: *ádardar útsam ásrjo ví khāni tvám amṇavān badbadhanāṁ amṇāh / mahāntam indra párvatam ví yád váh srjō ví dhārā áva dānavám han*. ‘You break open the well. You opened the cave. You stopped the pounding waves. O Indra,

when you split apart the great mountains for us. You split the rim. You beat down the Dānava.'

8. **samudra**: 'lake,' cf. 13.2.2n above. This remains a difficult term to understand in the RV. According to the text, the geographical outlook does not seem to indicate that R̥gvedic poets had direct knowledge of the ocean – the Arabian Sea or the Bay of Bengal. Kuiper (1983) notes that *samudra* refers to the oceans that surround the earth in the mythical cosmology and the cosmic waters above and under the earth – the Milky Way. VS 23.47 *kim̐ samudrāsamaṁ sáraḥ...* 48 *dyaúḥ samudrāsamaṁ sáraḥ* 'What is that pool that is like the ocean/ lake?... The sky is that pool which is like the ocean/lake.' Given the stress the RV places on cosmology and cosmogony, it seems likely that references to the 'ocean' – the eastern and western oceans, the lower and upper ocean – are observations of the night sky which refer to the Milky Way. See Kuiper (1983), Brereton (1991), and Witzel (1984, 1995a).

9. 9a Jg. The second yā seems superfluous; its removal would make a triṣṭubh pāda. 9b Tr. Rare opening x ∪ – ∪.

agr̥h̥ṇan: The stem *gr̥bh̥ṇā-* and *gr̥h̥ṇā-* show varying distribution in the early Vedic texts. In the RV, the present stem *gr̥bh̥ṇā-* appears with greater frequency than *gr̥h̥ṇā-*; Grassman notes only one example in RV 4.57.7 *gr̥h̥ṇātu*. However, in the AV the distribution is reversed and there only three instances of *gr̥bh̥ṇā-* present stem in ŚS (3.86.6 *gr̥bh̥ṇāmi*; 20.135.9 *pratigr̥bh̥ṇīhi*; and *pratyagr̥bh̥ṇan* 20.135.7²). Zehnder (1999) also notes three instances in PS 2 of

grhṇā- where all manuscripts read *grhṇā-* nasal present stem. Griffith (1998) notes *grhṇāmi* in PS 19.10.14 (= ŚS 3.8.6 = 6.94.2) where all manuscripts agree on the reading. With this distribution and the fact that only Kā has a reading using the older, RV stem *grbhṇā-*, we are safe in proposing *agrṇā-* as the reading of *G. The change in distribution from -bhṇ- to -hṇ- may be attributed to the general MIA development by which aspirated consonants become deaspirated. However, it should be noted that even in the face of this development, Sanskrit maintains the phonological distinction between aspirated and unaspirated consonants throughout its history. On GRAH¹ as an early secondary development, see Wackernagel-Debrunner *AI* (1: 251-252; 2: 255). It is probable that Kā's reading might have been influenced by the RV or Kāṭha tradition of Kashmir.

amṛta, madhu: The well-known association of the drink of immortality (Greek *ambrosia*) with milk, Soma, and honey. Cf. above n6.

10. **dāśuṣe:** Dative singular of the Perfect participle √*dāś*. In RV, *dāśuṣe* is always used in the context of *martyāya*, for example RV 1.113.18b, 1.124.12d and 4.11.3c. The reduplicated form of the participle occurs only four times in the RV (1.112.20, 1.66.32.82 and 5.53.6). The non-reduplicated form is used consistently (probably over 100 times). Metrical constraints call for *dāśuṣe*.

1. 1b Jg. Rare opening x $\cup - \cup$.

opaśa: Kuiper (1991) lists this word among the non-IA substrate words for ornaments in the ṚV. He notes that the word contains a foreign prefix o-, possibly from Muṇḍa. Clark (1999) has discussed the term *opaśā* as referring to Indus Civilization headdresses as presented in terracotta figurines from Harappa. She notes that *opaśa* refers to a 'horn or horn-like headdress worn by males and females.' Indra is said to wear horn-like crown or headdress: ṚV 8.104.5c *cakrāṇa opaśam divi* 'make for himself a hornlike headdress in heaven' and ṚV 1.173.6d *bharti avadhāvāṃ opaśam iva dyam* 'the self-ruler (Indra) carries the sky like horn-like crown.' Clark notes that these two references to Indra might indicate how he carries the earth on his head. More likely, this may point to Indra holding up the sky with his two arms raised which could very well look like horns emerging from his head. In our PS verse, the reference to horns seems unmistakable because of the identification of the waters with cows. This is further supported by PB 23.4.3 *dvyopaśāḥ saṃstutā tasmād dvyopaśāḥ paśavaḥ* 'The complete *stotra* is two-pillared, therefore cattle is two-horned.'

samudra: Cf. PS 13.2.2n and PS 14.1.8 above.

2. **trayān vājinaḥ:** A direct reference to the team of three (four according to KātyaśŚ 14.3.9) horses of the chariot of the *yajamāna* that is raced during the Rājasūya following the *abhiṣeka*. In the Vajāpeya, the chariot of the *yajamāna* is yoked with three horses in opposition to the other 16 chariots used in the ritual. See Heesterman (1957: 128) and Sparreboom (1985: 28-43).

vājayati: From *vāj* 'to be aware, aroused.' This transitive verb is to be distinguished from the denominative *vājayati*, from *vāja* 'race, booty.' The latter is intransitive and does not appear in the AV. The transitive meaning has been derived from **wogéyeti*, which accounts for Lat. *vegeō* and Go. (*us*-) *wakjan*. Cf. Jamison (1983: 51, 89).

kṣatra: Refers to the notion of the Herrschaftmacht conferred on the king by the gods or other group of men. In the AV, *kṣatra* is intimately connected with *rāṣṭra*, cf. AV 10.3.12. See Schlerath (1960: 126-127) and Oguibénin (1998: 43-48). A discussion of the ritual aspect of this concept is found in Heesterman (1957: 114-122) and more recently in Witzel (1987b) in a discussion of the coronation ritual of Nepal. In the coronation ritual of, the king is besprinkled with several kinds of waters some of which contain other items – herbs, perfumes, flowers, cow's urine, fruits, and gold, and *kusā* grass. Through this process and other actions during the unction, the power of the substances, gods, and land (of Nepal) are placed and made to reside in the king. Thus, rulership (*kṣatra*) is directly linked with the powers of the physical world as well as the heavenly powers (the powers of the gods that are placed in the king). Heesterman understands the unction ritual as a symbolic new birth of the king out of the womb of the year and out of the cosmos.

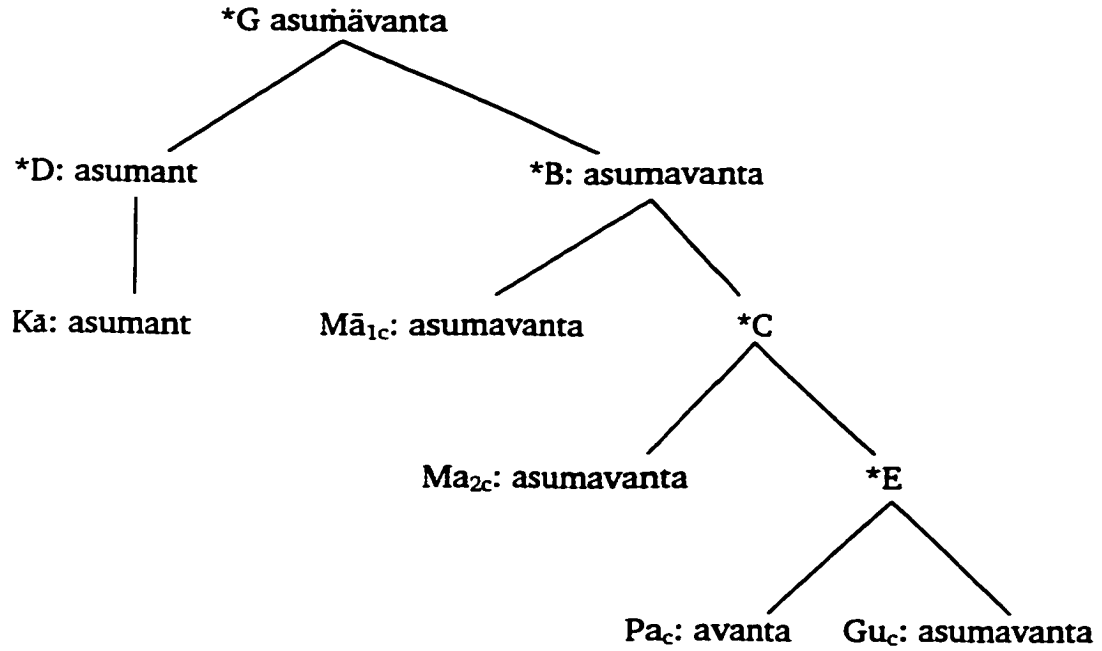
3-4. **sapta ṛṣayah:** Meter requires *saptarṣayah*. However, when -a/-ā is followed by ṛ-, contraction to -ar- is never written in the RV and the VS. The MS generally lengthens a to -ā even where the meter requires -ar-. Other occurrences of this

particular compound in the PS seem to indicate that the PS also follows this tradition. See Macdonell (1910: 63) and Wackernagel-Debrunner *AI/G* (I: 267).

4. ⁺**asuvanta**: In order to understand the series of errors that have lead to the readings in our manuscripts, one must be aware of how the manuscripts correct errors. There are three possible readings: *Kā: asumanta* vs. *Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c asumavanta*, and *Gu_c avanta*. A reading *a????anta* must be accepted as necessarily having belonged to the archetype. An examination of the forms reveals that *asumavanta* is not a possible form. Furthermore, considering meter, this reading has one too many syllables: -su-, -ma-, or -va- is extraneous to the reading.

This leads to the supposition that *G itself may could have already itself had a correction. It is not uncommon for older manuscripts to correct incorrect akṣara-s by marking three dots or strokes (|||) above the akṣara (mā) or crossing out the akṣara with line (akṣara). Cf. Bühler (1959: 110). One can conjecture, already in *G, a reading *asumavanta*, where the akṣara -ma- was marked, probably with the three dots or lines. It is quite possible considering the negative effect that the Indian climate has on manuscripts that the dots or lines could have faded away, were mistaken for accents, or were simply overlooked by the copyist.

Schematically we can illustrate this error as follows:



The scribe of Kā must have re-interpreted *asumant* < *asu-mant* ‘having life.’ In the Orissa branch, the correction marks were lost and the extraneous syllable was carried through.

Bharata: The name of the sub-tribe of the Puru in the RV. It appears in the RV as the name of a tribe only six times in book 3, 5 and 7 which focus on the ascendancy of the Bharata tribe at the time of king Sudās. Book 7, in particular, provides a picture of shifting alliances among the tribes and their *purohita-s* (Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra) that eventually culminates in the Battle of Ten Kings. It is thus not surprising to find the winner of the battle as the one anointed as the king endowed with all powers that the king requires. This is less surprising still when we consider that this hymn – not found in ŚS - along with PS 10 falls under those that seem to have been composed by the Paippalādins in order to ensure a place for

themselves in the new power structure. See: Macdonell (1912) and Witzel (1995e, 1997).

5. 5c Tr. Rare opening x ∪ ∪ –.

6. 6b Tr. Uncommon Break – | ∪ –. The syntax of this pāda is not quite regular. The position of the relative pronoun, *yāh*, is unexpected in relation to the preceding pādas where the relative is always in first position.

pinvate 3rd pl. from *√pi* ‘to swell, to fatten, (an)schwellen, .’ Verbs of the second conjugation (pi-nu) lose the -n of the 3rd pl. middle ending (ante > ate). Cf. YAv *fra-pinaoti*, *fra-pinnuata*. Cf. Werba (1997: 356-57), Macdonell (1910: 335) and Mayrhofer *KEWA* sub *pínvati*, and *EWA* sub PAY¹.

saṃjñāna: n. ‘agreement,’ in RV 10.19.4c *saṃjñānam yāt parāyaṇam* ‘which agreement is the going away.’

7. 7b Jg. Rare opening x – – ∪. Caesura falls in within a compound.

vājina: The Petersburg Dictionary (p. 899): Molke (erzeugt durch Einmischen saurer Milch in heissgemachte süsse). This meaning is found already in TS 1.6.3.10 and VS 19.21, 23. *Vājina* is also attested in ĀpŚS 8.2.6 where directions for its preparation are given. The *vājina* is the watery part of the curdled milk obtained by pouring out the solid portion called *āmikṣā*. It is offered to the Vājins (the sons of Brhadukta, RV, during the Vaiśvadeva portion of the Cāturmasya sacrifice (AśvŚS 2.16.19). The meaning ‘horse’ does not make sense in this context of this stanza. See Macdonell (1912) and Einoo (1988).

8. 8b Tr. Uncommon cadence – ∪ ∪ x. 8c Tr. Uncommon opening x – ∪ ∪.

⁺**asuṣvata**: Reduplicated Aorist of *√sū* ‘to impel.’ Gotō (1991: 695) notes *suṣvatu* KS 40.9^m. On the present reading, Gotō: ‘ferner ist AVP-Or XIV 2,8 *asūkṣata* ~ Kashm. XIV 1,18 *asūkta* wohl ⁺ *asūṣvata* (oder ⁺ *asuṣvata*) zu lesen.’ His Orissa reading is based on Witzel’s tentative reading of the Orissa manuscripts.

Pāda d has three extra syllables for a total of 14, making hypersyllabic Jagatī pāda with an uncommon break. It seems likely that *savitā* is a gloss of *prāsāvid devaḥ*.

9. The meter in pāda a following the pāda break in Mā₁ gives a normal anuṣṭubh. However, following the same break, pāda b produces a hypersyllabic Jagatī pāda, like 14.2.8d.

Bhava: One of the new names that is given to Rudra in VS 16.18.28. In AV 6.93.1-2, Bhava, along with Śarva, are presented as entities distinct from Rudra, but are somewhat identified with him in AV 11.2. In the AV and later texts, these names are usually used when referring to Rudra’s destructive arrow and lightning. It is also a name of Agni in ŚB 1.7.3.10, an eastern text. In the same passage, Bhava is said to be worshiped by the Bāhikas.

10 **bādhiṣṭa**: Although all Orissa manuscripts write the augment, the augmented forms of *√bādh* are not attested elsewhere. It is possible that in the Orissa branch of the transmission, which usually does not apply abhinihita sandhi, the scribe, understanding an augmented form parallel to two previous augmented forms in ab, re-inserted the a. Kā is somewhat helpful in making this decision. Kā generally does not apply abhinihita sandhi and does not generally drop e-. We may

count this form as an injunctive, cf. Hoffmann (1964: 62). Bhattacharya (1997) has followed the Kā and interpreted *avādhīṣṭa*, which does not make much sense here: ‘in the distance, he killed complete annihilation (*nirṛti*) away.’

nirṛti: This term must refer to the place rather than to the often-encountered personified or deified concept, especially in AV. *Nirṛti* is described in the RV as a place that is cold, dark, without food, the place reserved for those who act against the ‘institutions’ of Vedic society – Brahmin killers, cow killers, and (male) embryo killers. This verse emphasizes the opposition of light and darkness. *Nirṛti* is pushed away even further below and the place where it used to be is filled with light. Cf. Brown (1941).

1. **ava:** Macdonell (1910: 412) states that the adnominal use of *ava*, although rare, is linked to the ablative in the sense of ‘down from.’ He cites RV 7.64.2 and AV 7.5.5. Cf. Delbrück (1968: 451).

Nīlagrīva: This is a name for Rudra/Śiva, which is already listed in the Śaturudriya chapter of the Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā. Like Nīlakaṇṭha, it points to the later, well-known Churning of the Ocean myth. In this myth, one of the items produced by the churning of the ocean by the gods and *asura-s* is poison which Śiva drinks, causing his neck to turn blue.

śikhaṇḍin: Kuiper (1991: 14) identifies *śikha* (*viśikha*) as non-IA word in the RV. A *śikhaṇḍa*, according to Clark (2000) represents a crest of hair generally in the shape of a fan that is worn by both males and females. Figurines from Harappa seem to have either one or four per headdress. The possible association with these non-IA hair styles points to Rudra’s connection with a non-IA, as pointed out especially by Dandekar (1979: 199-277), despite Srinivasan’s argument highlighted above.

2. 3c An. Rare cadence 00 – x.

praty aṣṭhaḥ: All PS manuscripts preserve RUKI under non-RUKI conditions in this instance. Here what would be expected if the RUKI rule were followed [*s* > ṣ / r, high vowels (i, u) and velar stops] would be *praty aṣṭhāḥ*. Since, the RUKI trigger is not immediately preceding the affected *s*, as in *tiṣṭhati*, where the trigger, the high vowel *i*, immediately precedes the affected sibilant. In our case since the original high vowel *i* (<*y*) is separated by the augment vowel *a*, one would not

expect RUKI to apply. However, the preservation of RUKI under non-immediate RUKI conditions is not unknown in Vedic. Bloomfield (1932: 460-61) notes variants in some compound verbs in which RUKI is applied with non-immediate trigger. In most of these cases, the intervening vowel is the augment: *vy aṣṭabhñā* (VS, ŚB *askabhñā*, MS *aṣkabhnā*, KS *aṣṭabhñā*, TS *askabhñād*, TĀ *aṣṭabhñād*) *rodāsi*; *abhy aṣṭhām* (TS, KS, ApŚ *asthād*, MS *asthām*) *viśvāḥ pṛtanā arātīḥ* AV, MŚ; *tena devā vyaṣahanta śatrūn* AV; *yasmād bhīṣā nyaṣadaḥ* TB, ŚŚS, ApŚS.

Bloomfield notes that this change is rare in the RV but becomes more common in the later saṃhitā-s.

3. **paśyata**: Meter requires the syllabic restoration of -ya- in order to regularize meter. However, -ya- restoration does not seem to be attested in the RV. Arnold (1905) does not note *paśya* as an exception to syllabic restoration. It may be the case that *paśya* in post-Rgvedic period became an accepted metrical option.

jalāṣabheṣajin: Another friendly or beneficial aspect of Rudra is highlighted by this term. Rudra is often asked to remove disease. This is further highlighted in 14.4.7 when Rudra's missiles are addressed as *ayaṣmayā*, 'non consumptive' – in other words that his arrows do not carry *yakṣma* 'consumption, tuberculosis'. See Macdonell (1897: 74-77).

kṣepam: 'related to the thrower'. This term is not attested in the RV or the ŚS. In a ritual context, it could be understood as the priest pacifying Rudra's ability to throw his missiles at us and cause harm, and thus keep away the *vāṭikāra*

disease. With the information provided by PS 15.16, *kṣepam* probably refers to the wounds caused by the thrower (of arrows).

vāṭikara: Appears as a type of *yakṣma* in ŚS 9.8.20. Zysk (1993) suggests that it is associated with gastric problems and may hint at the beginning of the *tridoṣa* doctrine. PS 15.16.6: *vāṭikāreṇa ca kṣipatsya- [-aghasyāghaviṣa ca yā arundhati tvam tasyāsi viṣasya viṣadūṣaṇī]* ‘And with the vātikara-disease of thrown (arrows) and the dangerous poison of evil (?) , O Arundhati, you are poison-destroying for this poison,’ In this stanza, *vāṭikara* is connected with an illness caused by that that is throw, possibly arrows, against which the Arundhati plant is a remedy.

4. 4d An. Uncommon cadence – – –x.

b = *nāmas te rudra manyāve* VS 16.1^a; TS 4.5.1.1^a; MS 2.9.2^a; 4.12.1; KS 17.11^a; ŚBM 9.1.1.14; ApŚS 17.11.4; MŚS 5.1.9.18; c = *bāhubhyām utā te nāmaḥ* VS 16.1^c; TS 4.5.1.1^b; MS 2.9.2^d; KS 17.11^b; ŚB 9.1.1.14; d = *utó ta iṣave nāmaḥ* VS 16.1^b; TS 4.5.1.1^b; MS 2.9.2^b; KS 17.11^c; ŚB 9.1.1.14.

5. a = *yām iṣum girisanta* VS 16.3^a; TS 4.5.1.1^a; MS 2.9.2^a; KS 17.11^a; ŚvetU 3.6^a; b = *hāste bibhārṣy āstave* VS 16.3^b; TS 4.5.1.1^b; MS 2.9.2^b; KS 17.11^b; ŚvetU 3.6^b; c = *śivām giritra tām kuru* VS 16.3^c; TS 4.5.1.2^c; MS (°*giriśa*°) 2.9.2^c; KS 17.11^c; ŚvetU 3.6^c; d = *mā himsīḥ pūruṣām jagat* VS 16.3^d; MS 2.9.2^d; KS 17.11^d; ŚvetU 3.6^d.

girisanta: This word is restricted to the Nīlarudra text as preserved in the PS and in the YV texts. Mayrhofer *EWA* sub, *giri-śā*. ‘auf den Bergen wohnend,’ from śī

‘liegen.’ Wackernagel-Debrunner (2.2: 81): “Vielleicht stammt giriśā- lediglich aus haplogogischer Kürzung (I 279 § 214 a α) von *giri-śayāya* mit spielerischem Anschluß an ep. Kl. *giriśā* (Beiname Śiva’s “Herr der Berge”).” Cf. also Mayrhofer *EW*A sub *nīśitā*-.

6. a = *śivéna vácasā tvā* VS 16.4^a; TS 4.5.1.2^a; MS 2.9.2^a; KS 17.11^a; b = *giriśācchā vadāmasi* VS 16.4^b; TS 4.5.1.2^b; MS 2.9.2^b; KS 17.11^b; c = *yāthā nah sārvaṃ ij jāgar* VS 16.4^c; TS 3.2.8.6^c, 4.5.1.2^c; KS 17.11^c; d = *ayakṣmām sumāno asat* VS 16.4^d; TS 3.2.8.6^d, 4.5.1.2^d; = *saṃgame*^o MS 1.3.15^d, 1.11.4^d, 2.2.6^d, 2.9.2^d; KS 10.12^d, 14.2^d; = *saṃgatyām* RV 10.141.4^d; AV 3.20.6^d.

yakṣman: ‘consumption, tuberculosis.’ According to Zysk (1993), *yakṣman* is the general, internal disease demon that attacks both humans and animals. It invades every part of the body and causes the disintegration of the limbs, fever, heartache, and pain in all body parts. In other words, it seems to be associated with the general condition of decay of the body.

7. 7d An. Uncommon opening x ◡ ◡ –.

a = *yā ta īṣuḥ śivātamā* TS 4.5.1.1^a; KS 17.11^a; b = *śivām babhūva te dhānuḥ* TS 4.5.1.1^b; MS 2.9.2^b; KS 17.11^b; c = *śivā śaravyā yā tavā* TS 4.5.1.1^c; KS 17.11^c; d = *tāya no mṛḍa jīvāse* VS 16.49^d; VSK (*°mṛḍa*^o) 17.8.3^d; TS 4.5.10.1^d; MS 2.7.9^d; KS 17.11^d. 17.16^d.

8. a = *yā te rudra śivā tanūḥ* VS 16.2^a; TS 1.5.1.1^a, 4.5.10.1^a; MS 2.9.2^a, 2.9.9^a; KS 17.11^a, 17.16^a; ŚvetU 3.5^a; b = *āghorāpāpakāśinī* VS 16.2^b; TS 4.5.1.1^b; MS 2.9.2^b; KS 17.11^b; ŚvetU 3.5^b; c = *tāyā nas tanvā śāntamayā* VS 16.2^c, TS

4.5.1.1^c, MS 2.9.2^c; KS 17.11^c; ŚvetU (*tanuvā*) 3.5^b; d = *gīśantābhī cakaśīhi* VS 16.2^d; TS 4.5.1.1^d; MS 2.9.2^d; KS 17.11^d; ŚvetU 3.5^d.

⁺**cākaśah**: 2nd sg. Subjunctive from the Intensive of √kaś ‘appear’. The intensive stem *cākaś* produces two attested forms in the RV *cākaśīmi* and *cākaśīti* as well as *abhyacākaśam*. In AV, Whitney (1899: 366) notes three plural subjunctive *praticākaśān* in 6.29.3 as being marked “with double mode-sign. Cf. Schaefer (1994: 102-104). Although not attested, the manuscripts converge on this form with little variation. We must assume that the archetype had this form; otherwise, we are forced to propose an attested form while discarding the evidence of the manuscript. Such a step would create, like Whitney’s text of ŚS, a mish-mash text which is not really the PS.

tanū: The translation body, of a physical entity, does not seem to work here. Gardner (1998: 322) has pointed out that the corporeality of *tanū* in the post-Rgvedic texts is “still tempered by the use of *śarīra* to designate the body and the frequent use of *tanū* as part of the composite self of the BYV and later Vedic texts.” In the AV, both ŚS and PS, *tanū* seems to be used for the most part to refer to humans. Both saṃhitā-s follow the distinction between the language of the gods and the language of men for *tanū*. Gardner translates *tanū* as presence when it refers to the gods. In the present verse, there is no attempt to provide a physical description of Rudra’s *tanū*. Rather, the poet seems to point to the intention of his presence – appeasing it by labeling it *śiva* ‘friendly.’

9. a = *asáu yās tāmró aruṇāḥ* VS 16.6^a; TS 4.5.1.2^a; MS 2.9.2^a; KS 17.11^a; b = *utá babhrūr sumanīgalāḥ* VS 16.6^b; TS 4.5.1.2^b; MS 2.9.2^b; KS 17.11^b; c = *yé cainam rudrá ábhito* VS 16.6^c; KS (*°ceme°*) 17.11^c; *ye ceme abhito rudrāḥ* MS 2.9.2^c; TS (*°cemām rudrá abhītaḥ*) 4.5.1.2^c; d = *dikṣú śnitāḥ sāhasrasó* VS 16.6^d; TS 4.5.1.3^d; MS 2.9.2^d; KS 17.11^d.

9a An. Rare cadence – ∪ ∪ x.

īmahe: See 13.6.2n above.

Rudrās: designates the ubiquitous spirits and demons that come with a terrible god Rudra, who are part of his being and denote his influence. Frequently, this term is assigned to the Maruts because they are to be the offspring of Rudra, for example in RV 1.114.6, 5.60.5. However, the Rudrās often appear as distinct group different from the Maruts. The Rudrās are said to be eleven in number (ŚB 4.5.7.2 and AB 1.10.8) but thirty-three in TS 1.4.11.1. They are often referred to as *rudragāṇa-s*, *bhūta-s*, or *śivagāṇa-s*. Later the term *gāṇa* represents only Śiva's band of semi-divine attendants who are often sent ahead as messengers, for example in the Purāṇic story of the destruction of Dakṣa's sacrifice.

10. a = *asáu yo 'vāsarpati* VS 16.7^a; TS 4.5.1.3^a; KS 17.11^a; MS 2.9.2^a; b = *nīlagrīvo vīlohitaḥ* VS 16.7^b; TS 4.5.1.3^b; MS 2.9.2^b; KS 17.11^b; c = *utáinam gopā adṛṣran* VS 16.7^c; TS (*°adṛśan°*) 4.5.1.3^c; MS 2.9.2^c; KS 17.11^c; d = *utainam udahāryaḥ* MS 2.9.2^d; KS 17.11^d; VS (*adṛśrann udahāryāḥ*) 16.7^d; TS (*adṛśrann udahāryāḥ*) 4.5.13^d; e = *utáinam vīsvā bhūtāni* TS 4.5.1.3^e; MS 2.9.2^e; KS 17.11^e;

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Notes

f= *sá dṛṣtó mṛdayāti naḥ* VS 16.7^e; VSK (*°mṛla°*) 17.1.7^e; TS 4.5.1.3^f; MS 2.9.2^f; KS
17.11^f

10c An. Rare cadence – ∪ ∪ x. 10d An. Rare opening x ∪ ∪ –.

1. a = *námo 'stu nīlagrīvāya* VS 16.8^a; TS (*námo astu*^o) 4.5.1.3^a; MS 2.9.4; KS 17.11^a. b = *sahasrākṣāya mīdhuse* VS 16.8^b; TS 4.5.1.3^b; MS 2.9.8^b; KS 17.11^b; VSK °*mīdhuse*^o 17.11.8^b. c = *átho yé asya sárvaṇaḥ* VS 16.8^c; TS 4.5.1.3^c; MS 2.9.2^c; KS 17.11^c. d = *ahám tébhyo karaṁ námaḥ* VS 16.8^d; TS 4.5.1.3^d; KS 17.11^d; *idám tébhyo karaṁ námaḥ* RV 10.85.17^d; MS 2.9.2^d.

1c An. Rare cadence ∪ ∪ – x. 1d An. Uncommon opening x – ∪ ∪.

satvānaḥ: AB mentions the *sarvan* in its enumeration of the tribes around the ‘middle country.’ The *sarvan*-s are counted among the Southerners. The location of this tribe is still known to the composer and compilers of ŚB who live in the Kosala and Videha area, an area farther east than that of AB and PS. Cf. Mayrhofer *EWA* sub *sarvan*-. See Witzel (1987b).

- 2 a = *námāṃsi ta áyudhāyā*- KS 17.11^a; VS (*námas ta*^o) 16.14^a, MS 2.9.2^a; *námas té astv áyudhāyā*- TS 4.5.1.4^a; b = *ánātātāya dhṛṣṇāve* VS 16.14^b; TS 4.5.1.4^b; MS 2.9.2^b; KS 17.11^b; c = *ubhábhyām akāraṁ námāḥ* AV 11.2.16^d; *ubhábhyām utá te námāḥ* VS 16.14^c; TS 4.5.1.4^c; MS 2.9.2^c; KS 17.11^c; d = *bāhúbhyām táva dhánvane* VS 16.14^d; TS 4.5.1.4^d; MS 2.9.2^d; KS 17.11^d.

2a An. Rare cadence – ∪ – x.

- 3 a = *prámuñca dhánvanas páry tvám* VS 16.9^a; TS 4.5.1.3^a; MS 2.9.2^a; KS 17.11^a; b = *ubháyor ártnyor jyám* VS 16.9^b; MS 2.9.2^b; KS 17.11^b; TS (°*ártnyor*^o) 4.5.1.3^b; c = *yás ca te hásta íṣavaḥ* VS 16.9^c; TS 4.5.1.3^c; KS 17.11^c; MS (°*hástā*^o) 2.9.2^c; d = *pārā tá bhagavo vapa* VS 16.9^d; TS 4.5.1.4^d; MS 2.9.2^d; KS 17.11^d.

***ārtṇyor:** The form which all manuscripts preserve, *ārtṇyor* must go back to *G as both *D and *B are likely to have shared this mistake already. The loss of -r- in a VrC cluster, where it is represented, even in the earliest Nāgarī with a small hook or notch opening to the right on top of the cluster consonant, can happen very easily. It is not a difficult copying mistake to imagine especially for someone copying into Śāradā or E. Nāgarī/Orissa.

4. a = *avatārya dhānuḥ tvām* VS 16.3^a; MS 2.9.2^a; °*dhanus tvam* TS 4.5.1.4^a; KS 17.11^a, 2.9.9^c; b = *sāhasrākṣa sateṣudhe* VS 16.13^b; TS 4.5.1.4^b; MS 2.9.2^b; KS 7.11^b; c = *niśīrya śalyānām mukhā* VS 16.13^c; TS 4.5.1.4^c; KS 17.11^c; MS (°*prāsīrya*°) 2.9.2^c; d = *śivó naḥ sumánā bhava* VS 16.13^d, 51d; TS 4.5.1.4^d, 4.5.10.4^b; MS 2.9.2^d; KS 17.11^d, 17.16^b.

mukhā: Older A. n. form in -ā. This form is the older and more common one in the RV. However, it continues to be used in the AV and other saṃhitā-s. See Macdonell (1910: 260).

5 a = *vījyam dhānuḥ karpadinaḥ* VS 16.10^a; TS 4.5.1.4^a; MS 2.9.2^a; KS 17.11^a; b = *viśalyo vāṇavān utá* VS 16.10^b; TS (°*bāṇavan*°) 4.5.1.4^b; MS (°*bāṇavan*°) 2.9.2^b; KS (°*bāṇavān*°) 17.11^b; c = *āneśann asya yá śavaḥ* VS 16.10^c; MS 2.9.2^c; TS (°*asyéśavaḥ*°) 4.5.1.4^c; KS (°*asyéśavaḥ*°) 17.11^c; d = *ābhúr asya niṣaṅgadhīḥ* VS 16.10^d; TS (°*niṣaṅgathīḥ*°) 4.5.1.4^d; *ābhúr asya niṣaṅgathīḥ* MS 2.9.2^d, KS 17.11^d.

aneśan: 3rd pl. Reduplicated aorist of *√naś*. Hoffmann (1967: 64) states: *neśa*- “dessen Vokalismus sich nur durch den schwachen Perfektstamm *neś* (3 Pl. *neśuḥ*, ŚB; 3 Sg *nanāśa* RV) begreifen läßt.”

niṣaṅgathi: The original reading according to Gotō (1980: 28) “dürfte wohl *niṣaṅga-dhī*- (bewahrt in VS und vielleicht auch in KpS) gewesen sein, welches als metricsh bedingte Augenblicksbildung durch Kontamination von *niṣaṅga*- mit *iṣudhī*- ‘Köcher’ entstanden ist.” *niṣaṅgadhi* was remodeled into *niṣaṅgathi*. In the PS manuscripts, -thi- > -ti- is the result of deaspiration of aspirated consonants that is frequent in Kashmir and Orissa.

6 a = *pāri te dhānvano hetūḥ* VS 16.12^a; TS 4.5.1.4^a; MS 2.9.2^a; KS 17.11^a; b = *asmān vṛṇaktu viśvātaḥ* VS 16.12^b; TS 4.5.1.4^b; MS 2.9.2^b; KS 17.11^b; c = *átho yá iṣudhís tava* VS 16.12^c; TS 4.5.1.4^c; MS 2.9.2^c; KS 17.11^c; d = *āré asmán ní dhehi táṃ* VS 16.12^d; TS 4.5.1.4^d; KS 17.11^d; MS (*°asmín°*) 2.9.2d.

7 a = *yá te hétir mīdhuṣama* VS 16.11^a; TS 4.5.1.4^a; MS 2.9.2^a; KS 17.11^a; VSK (*°mīlhuṣṭama°*) 17.1.10^a; b = *hāste babhúva te dhānuḥ* VS 16.11^b; TS 4.5.1.4^b; KS 17.11^b; MS (*°śívám°*) 2.9.2^b; c = *táyāsmán viśvátas tvám* VS 16.11^c; TS 4.5.1.4^c; MS 2.9.2^c; KS 17.11^c; d = *ayakṣmáya pári bhuja* VS 16.11^d; TS 4.5.1.4^d; MS 2.9.2^d; KS (*°ayakṣméṇa°*) 17.11d.

1. On feminine *-ant* (*-antī*), see Wackernagel-Debrunner, *AIG* (2.2: 419-419, 3: 254-263). Cf. *anapasphurantīm*, RV 4.42.10 and *pratīrant* RV 7.77.5.
2. 2c Tr. Uncommon cadence – – – x.

gr̥bhñāmi: All manuscripts are unanimous on this reading. As noted above, PS 14.1.9n, both *gr̥bhñā-* and *gr̥hñā-* are attested in the RV as well as in the ŚS, with inverse proportional distribution. Since the ŚS attests a few examples of *gr̥bhñā-*, it is not inconceivable that a similar distribution existed in its sister samhitā. At the present stage of the edition of the PS, it is difficult to be sure as to the distribution of these two root-alternant. Perhaps as the systematic critical re-editing of the PS continues, we might be able to gain a better insight on this issue. From Bhattacharya (1997) it is impossible to make a determination. A cursory search of the books of the PS so far edited shows that the manuscripts mostly agree on reading *gr̥hñā-*. However there are at least three instances (PS 8.2.2, 9.7.5, and 10.4.10) where all manuscripts agree in reading *gr̥bhñā-* (based on the variant readings provided by Bhattacharya (1997)).

medhyām ‘full of *medha*, of juice’ connects this term to idea of sacrifice and drink. The sacrificial offering is trans-substantiated by means of the fire into *asu* and *medha*, which are the substances that the gods can consume. Cf. VādhŚS 4.16.

śraddadhānaḥ: This expression carries the sense of *śraddhā*, ‘confident intention in the efficacy of sacrifice.’ It expresses both the intention to perform the ritual as well as the firm belief in the efficacy of the ritual. It is an expression of the old IE belief in ‘faith’, Latin *credo*, Avestan *zraz-dā*. Recently, Jamison (1996: 176-

84) has provided an excellent analysis of *śraddhā* following Thieme's suggestion of *śraddhā* as an expression of the trust or agreement among strangers in the context of hospitality. Jamison identifies a number of passages in late Vedic and an Epic text in which giving is found exclusively in the context of guest/host relations. She concludes that in non-ritual contexts "the concrete manifestation of *śraddhā* is giving in this world" (183).

3. This verse parallels the well-known expression regarding the killing of the horse in the Aśvamedha, RV 1.161. The idea expressed in that hymn is that the horse is not really killed. In the PS hymn, the same language is being used for the *śataudanā*-cow. The new (or perhaps old) and interesting twist is the method of killing the sacrificial animal. In the Rgvedic period, the sacrificial animal was decapitated (outside the *vedi*) while in the classical rituals, the sacrificial animal was suffocated. Here, we see what may be perhaps an older or artificially archaic method of killing the sacrificial animal by stoning, presumably done also outside the *vedi* (to prevent blood from being spilled in the *vedi*, following Heesterman). See n. 4 below.

4. **ā rabhasva:** For the distribution of *ā* + *rabh*/*labh* in Vedic, see Gotō (1976).

śatapāpmāno asyāḥ: The 'hundred evils' may refer to the evils incurred by the *yajamāna* by the killing of the sacrificial victim or to the transfer of *yajamāna*'s evil onto the cow. The conception that killing has a negative effect on the sacrificer even when it is required in the sacrifice begins to appear clearly in the later Vedic

texts like JB 1.42-44 and ŚB 11.6.1.1. During in his travels in the underworld, Bhṛgu observes a reverse world – a world where animals killed in the sacrifice eat those who had killed them in the sacrifice.

A small group of formulas called *pāpmāno vinidhayaḥ*, recorded in BŚS 2.8, has been preserved for getting rid of the evils of the sacrificer. Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra 4.7.5-11 states that this sūtra is for one who desires to be free of all sorts of evils. According to BŚS, before the sacrificer is to set up the sacred fires and before performing the Gopitṛyajñā, he performs the ritual of the *pāpmāno vinidhayaḥ*. The ritual takes place at a cross-road, after the sacrificer has taken a morning bath. There he gazes at his reflection in the pot filled with water and recites the formulas from the *pāpmāno vinidhayaḥ*. The formulas of BŚS 2.5 aim at directing the sacrificer's evils toward objects, being, or regions characterized by the very evils or deficiencies which the sacrificer's aims to eliminate: *siṃhe me manyuḥ / vyāghre me 'ntarāmayaḥ / vṛke me kṣut...dhanvani me pipāsā...bhrātrvye me pāpmā*: '(May) my anger (go) towards the lion. My internal ailment towards the tiger. My hunger to the wolf...My desire for drinking to the desert...My evil to (my) cousin.' See Kashikar (1969, 1970). Cf. Schmidt (1968, 1997).

śatapāpmāno asyāḥ could also be interpreted as the sacrificer transferring his evils – those that he might incur by killing the sacrificial animal – onto the auspicious cow. Considering the great power this ritual is said to have, the power to cleanse to sacrificer from evil incurred in the ritual itself (ritual errors?) might not be such an impossible idea.

samarpayann aśmanā: *arpaya-* in the RV, according to Jamison (1984: 80) means ‘fit together’. However, Jamison also notes that “once *arpayati* was built, it could be used for the entire root *ṛ*, and it is fairly common in later Skt. in a variety of meaning besides fit in.’ This seems to be the case already in AV, where one finds *arpaya-* from $\sqrt{\text{AR}}^2$ ‘come, hinkommen, to reach, erreichen, to strike somebody, auf [jemanden] treffen,’ as well as *arpaya-* from $\sqrt{\text{AR}}^1$ ‘send,’ For example AV 5.22.6 *dāsīm niṣṭákvarīm icha tám vājrena sám arpaya* ‘seek the run-away female *dāsī*. Strike her with the *vraja*.’ Cf. RV 10.155.2, AV 8.4.1, 6.6.6, PS 2.85.1, and PSK 19.39.9, for further evidence of the meaning ‘to strike’. Zehnder (1999: 186-87) notes at PS 2.85.1 for *bhrūṇāṇy arpayā*: “Aus inhaltlichen Gründen ist hier *arpaya-* als doppelt-transitiv aufgefasst; gemäss der grammatischen Theorie müsste bei einem Kaus. wie *arpaya-* das Subjekt des transitiven. Grundverbs in den Instr. treten, z.B. MS 3.3.5:37.14: *yám evá dvēṣṭi tám agnéh śucārpayatī* [whom he hates, he strikes him with the flame of Agni].

The idea of killing the sacrificial animal by a method other than decapitation or strangulation is not foreign to Vedic ritual. ŚB speaks of the method by which the sacrificial animal is struck on the frontal lobe. ŚBM 3.8.1.15: *tasya na kūtena praghñanti mānuṣaṁ hi tan no’ eva paścātkarmaṇ pitṛdevatyam* ‘they do not strike it with the hammer, for [that is] the human way; nor behind the ear, for [that is] sacred to the Pitṛ-s.’ ŚBK 4.8.1.15 *tasya na kūtena praghñanti mānuṣaṁ ha kuryād yad asya kūtena prahanyur* ‘They do not strike it with the hammer. Indeed, he would do as a human if he should strike it with the hammer.’ In other words,

humans kill the sacrificial victim by striking it with a hammer. Stones themselves were the earliest types of hammer. Indeed, the idea of a weapon made of stone is nothing new in the Veda since Indra's *vajra* is said to be made of stone (RV 4.1.13, 10.139.5). Note *ásṁ-* < **Hk^ham* 'hammer,' cf. Mayrhofer *EWA* sub *ásman*. It is conceivable that this method of killing the sacrificial animal involved hammering the animal with a stone, stone-hammer or stone-axe.

Killing someone by striking them in the head with a hammer is also present in late Vedic texts. JB 1.46 speaks about the way to heaven for someone who has died. That deceased person is approached by one of the seasons (*ṛtu*) with hammer in hand (*ṛtūnām eko yaḥ kūṭahasto*) who asks him what his name is. When he does not answer (even though he may know the answer), the *ṛtu* kills him with his hammer. JB 2.269 tells about Yavakrī Saumastambhi who was about to be punished by a *gandharva* (with hammer in hand) for sleeping with an *apsaras*. Killing someone or something by smashing its head with a hammer seems to be clearly connected with the divine sphere as only ancestors, the seasons and *gandharvas* (ritually) kill in that way. See Witzel (1987d).

ásmanā: Must mean stone here as verse 3 above. *ásman* never means heaven in the RV, according to Oldenberg (1912-: 61): "daß áśman 'Himmel' zu übersetzen oder vom H. zu verstehen (so u. A. Berg. 1. 241 – anders Etudes s.v. –, Vartholomae 1F. 19 Beiheft 173 A.1) könnte allzu avestisch sein. Mir scheint Geldner Komm. mit besserem Recht an die Felshöhle zu denken: der

Nachtbeherrscher Var. läßt sehen “was die Sonne im Fels(verschluß ist) und das Dunkel.”

5. 5a Tr. Uncommon opening x ◡ – ◡. 5c Tr. Caesura after 3rd syllable.

Virāj must refer to the cosmogonic cow *virāj* that is the subject of AV 8.10.

The connection here seems to be with AV 8.10.24 which speak of Pṛthi, son of Vena, milking from *virāj*, the cow, both cultivation and grain. This story is connected to the *pārtha* libations of the unction portion of the Rājasūya. According to Heesterman (1957), the offering of the *pārtha* libations re-enacts the milking of *virāj* and thus making of the animal and vegetable worlds productive for the king. AV 8.10 extols *virāj* as the source of the universe from which all were born. This idea is already present in ṚV 10.90 where *virāj* is born from *puruṣa* and *puruṣa* is born, again, from *virāj* in order to ‘create’ the rest of the cosmos. In a similar manner, the present hymn extols the cow as the source of fruits that could be produced by performing all the other sacrifices.

6 nāmadheyāni: This verse seems to be connected with aspects of the Aśvamedha ritual. In particular, it seems to echo the portion of the Aśvamedha when the names of the horses are recited, MS 3.12.4, TS 7.1.12, VS 22.19, TB 3.8.9.1-3, 3.8.17.1, 3.9.19.1 and ŚB 131.6.1.2. During the ritual, the sacrificer whispers the *aśvanāmāni* into the right ear of the horse. *Aśvanāmāni* includes *aśva*, *haya*, *atya*, *maya*, *nara*, *arva*, *sapti*, *vāji*, *vṛṣa*, *nṛmaṇa*, *yayur*. Both TB and ŚB state *etad va aśvasya priyaṃ nāmadheyam* ‘this is the horse’s beloved name.’ In the

context of the sacrifice of the *śataudanā*-cow, a similar list of names must have been part of the ritual. Already in the RV, we find *Idā* as the name of the Soma cow.

Like the horse that is killed in the *Aśvamedha*, RV 1.162-3, the cow goes to the place of the gods immediately upon being sacrificed. Here there is no mention of the cow dying but only of immediately being with gods. This fits well with RV 1.162.21: *ná vā u etán mṛyase na riṣyasi devāṃ íd eṣī pathúbhiḥ sugébhīḥ* 'Indeed, you do not die from this nor are you hurt. You just go to the gods on easygoing paths'. One list of the names of the cow is found in MS 4.2.9, the *Gonāmika* section.

7. 7b Tr. Rare break | ◡ – ◡. 7c Tr. Uncommon break – | ◡ –. 7d Tr. Unique break | – – ◡. The cadence of this pāda is uncommon ◡ – ◡ x.

mahādamah: Perhaps from *√dam* 'to control, bāndigen, ' which is already attested in the RV. In the context of the ritual, this fits nicely as the verse refers to sacrificial actions that must be carefully performed.

Aghnyāyāḥ 'the one not to be killed' is regularly applied to the cow. In the ritual context, this term again highlights that the sacrifice is not killing. The constant assurance that the early texts provide about the sacrifice not killing has been connected by HP Schmidt (1968; 1997) with the later pan-Indian concept of *ahimsā* 'non-violence'. This early concern with trying to somehow remove killing from the sacrifice leads, in the classical ritual, to ritual manipulations that result in the sacrificial animal agreeing to be killed. In the ritual, the animal is sprinkled

with water, causing it to shake its head side to side, which for Indians, as well as Greeks, means ‘yes.’

Narten (1971) has explained *aghnyā* in connection with the waters.

Originally, the term was used in mantra-s recited during a swearing/oath ceremony that involved touching water. She reconstructs a mantra: **ápo aghnyā ihá mām avantu*. Narten concludes that in this old mantra there is no enumeration but rather an apposition of *aghnya* and *āpa*: “Das heißt: *aghnyāḥ*, erlesene Kühe’ ist eine dichterische Bezeichnung für *ápah*, die Wasser’.” This hypothesis is further supported by Yasna Haptaṅhāiti 38.5 where the waters are equated with *agāniās*.

8. **bradhnām**: could also be *vradhnām* because of the confusion in writing of b ~ v, which is prevalent. In Orissa, there is only one sign for both of these letters. *vradhnām* could refer to the initial layer of fat found upon peeling off the skin of the cow.

The elements of ritual expressed in the present hymn are also found in the Aśvamedha as described in VādhB 3.94. There the horse is said to be cut up and its skin removed: *yo ha smety āhur etasya purā prathama āchyati, murdhā ha smāsyā vipatati* ‘they say: who used to cut off the skin of that (horse) as first, his head flies apart.’ This procedure is to be performed in a very specific manner otherwise one’s head will fly apart: *aham te vakṣyāmi yathā tvam evāśvam viśasiṣyasi, no te mūrdhā vipatiṣyati* ‘I will tell you in the manner you will cut apart the horse (so) that your head will not fly apart.’ See Witzel (1987d).

9 9a Tr. Rare break ∪ | – –.

meni: Jamison (1996) discusses this concept in the context of hospitality.

She understands the concept as “the force that punishes those who neglect or perform incorrectly their hospitality obligations”(192). In the present PS context, although it does not fall clearly into Jamison’s ritual economy, there certainly seems to be a sense of *meni* being a result of a violation or possible violation of some ritual injunction, perhaps ‘do not shake’. However, the possibility remains open, as Jamison suggests, “it is also possible that such litanies have been abstracted from a context in which exchange has indeed been thwarted” (197). Since in our context from the previous verse is √*vadh* ‘to slay, kill’, the translation “revenge” seems most appropriate.

2. 2c Tr. Uncommon cadence – – – x. Restoring °*devyam*° still produces an uncommon Jagatī cadence.

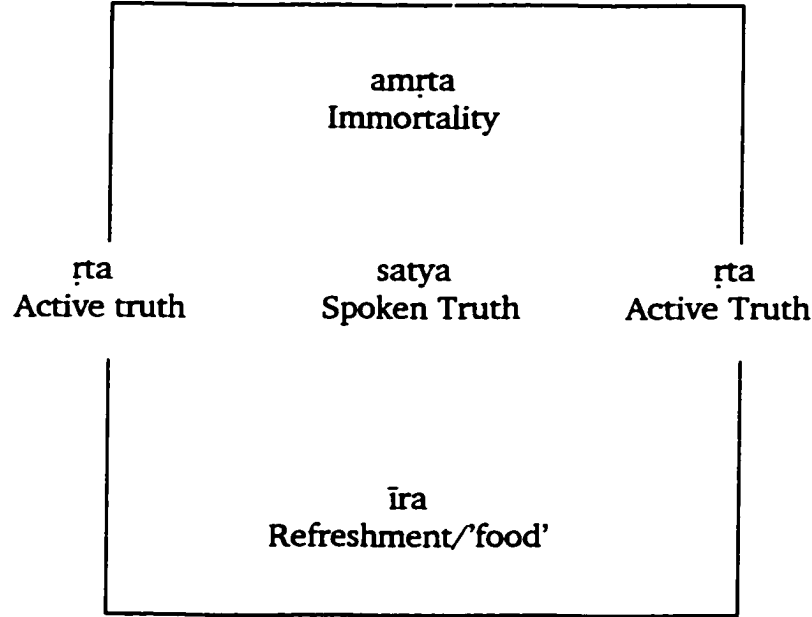
ṛtīye nāke adhi viṣṭapi: The idea of the third step on the highest point of the sky reminds one of the myth of Viṣṇu's three strides (*trivikrāma*) through the universe. The third step by Viṣṇu was conceived as mysterious and invisible to the human eye. Viṣṇu is associated with Virāj and with Aditi who are in turn associated with food and often referred to as cow (or even the cosmic cow). Both are called Viṣṇupatnī and *dhruvā dīk*. Thus, it is no surprise that the *śataudanā*-cow, which has been identified as Virāj, should be found in the third [step] on the highest point in the sky, Viṣṇu's invisible final step. See above PS 13.7.8n above. Cf. Kuiper (1983: 41-56).

3. 14.6.3c = TS 3.3.11.4d, TB 2.4.2.8d.

6. ⁺**aruroho:** 2nd sg. Pluperfect of *√ruh*. These forms are rare in the saṃhitā-s (Macdonell 1968:364). Thieme does not note a pluperfect form of *√ruh* but notes a few pluperfects in AV. Cf. Thieme (1929: 35-50). All manuscripts agree in a reduplicated form with augment and secondary endings. The augment is absent in Kā but the secondary ending has been preserved. See 13.3.8n above.

7-8. These two verses provide insight into how Vedic seer/poets visualized the cosmos in terms of 'abstract notions' – *ṛta*, *śraddhā*, *anna*, *satya*, etc. In a similar fashion as the Puruṣa Hymn RV 10.90 portrays the cosmos as being formed from parts of the "primordial man," the author of the present verses has used the body of the sacrificial cow to represent the inter-relation of these forces in the cosmos. Here

the cosmos – space filled up by the *śataudanā*-cow – is framed within *ṛta*, the governing force in the cosmos. Within that frame, other abstract forces are contained as well. A simplified picture looks as follows:



The cosmos is understood as the well-ordered and creative sphere of *ṛta* 'the force of active truth'. This sphere is defined by the inter-relation and inter-action of these abstract notions, which is reflected in ritual. For example, *śraddhā* 'confident intention in the efficacy of ritual' is necessary for the performance and positive results of ritual: long-life, progeny, wealth, and heaven. The last of these, heaven, is nothing else than immortality (*amṛta*) in the next world. Immortality (*amṛta*) is achieved via ritual and it seems to be intimately connected with nourishment (*anna*), cf. TU 3.10; the length one one's stay in heaven is dependent on how much nourishment for the heavenly-body is accumulated. However, *ṛta* is not the only abstract notion, which frame this eternal cycle of interactions. *ṛna* 'obligation' is

also simultaneously in the outer frame of this system. The three *ṛta*-s – to the gods, to the ancestors and the ancient poets – also frames and sets in motion the cycle of obligation. Finally, we should not that the cosmos is not void outside of the *ṛta* frame. The negative power of *nirṛtir* ‘complete annihilation’ exists outside of the *ṛta*-ordered cosmos, and it continually impinges into this sphere via her representatives – *rakṣas*, disease, (*takman*, etc.), *meni* ‘revenge,’ etc.

The image of this verse clearly conceptualizes of *satya* is seen as subset of *ṛta*. In other words, *ṛta* is also *satya* but *satya* does not include *ṛta*. Cf. PS 13.13n above. Also, we can observe here an analogous relationship between *īra* and *ṛta* and the relationship of *anna* ‘food’ and *ṛta* in TU 3. *īra* ‘refreshment,’ as some kind of nourishment, is related directly to *ṛta* – almost as *prathamajā ṛtasya* – and consequently to *amṛta* ‘immortality.’ In fact the same type of relation among *ṛta*, *īra* and *amṛta* is expressed here is in TU 3. Cf. Lopez (1997).

8. *vanīṣṭhu*: This is not a clearly identified organ. In the context of this hymn, it seems to refer to the interior organ of the cow. Following Bodewitz (1992), it may refer to rennet stomach (*abomasum*) of the cow. The *abomasum*, true stomach of the cow, normally lies low down in the right front quadrant of the abdomen, just inside the 7th through 11th ribs. Adjacent to the *abomasum*, on the left side of the abdomen, is the large first stomach, or *rumen*. The *jathara* probably refers to the rumen, both of which are enclosed within the rib cage (*pārsve*). What the identification might be here remains problematic. This verse probably continues the identification of parts of the *śataudanā*-cow with parts of the cosmos in the

same manner as BAU 1.1-2. Cf. ŚS 9.5.20 where the *pārśvau* ‘the two sides/ribs’ of the goat are identified with heaven and earth. See Bodewitz (1992) and Jamison (1987). On the anatomy of the cow’s stomach, see <http://muextension.missouri.edu/xplor/agguides/pests/g07701.htm>.

Cf. RV 10.90.13, eye = sun.

10 **ārpitā**: In context it must mean ‘to fix.’ Cf. above PS 14.5.6

1. The meaning of the first pāda remains unclear. It seems to point to an aspect of ritual. In particular, it may be a reference to the Vedic version of the Greek *hekatómbe* ‘the sacrifice that wins a hundred cows,’ Sanskrit *śatágvin* (from *kṃto-gv-ā). Cf. Thieme (1995).
2. **papātha**: 2nd sg. Perfect of *√pā* ‘to drink.’ Admittedly, ‘to drink the cow’ does not make much sense. However, with the ‘tasting’ in the next verse and the fact that Indra ‘took the strength and vigor of the *asura-s* by means of her,’ one could think of something that is being drunk here, perhaps something made with the cow’s milk. One could also think of *√pā* ‘to protect,’ but this root does not make a perfect. With the tasting in the next verse, it could be that part of this ritual involves the drinking of some offering – perhaps milk or curds prepared from the *śataudanā*-cow’s milk.

prathamās śataudanām: In this instance, all of the Orissa manuscripts have used ḥ before following ś-. This seems to be the result of a scribe having standardized the sibilant sandhi in the Orissa tradition, probably at the time of *B or shortly thereafter. As is suggested by PS 14.7.3 (and others), we can be certain that -ś ś- was the sibilant sandhi of the archetype.

sapta ṛṣayaḥ ‘seven seers,’ as a group are mentioned four times in the RV (4.42.8, 10.82.2, 10.109.4, and 10.130.7). The above enumeration of the seven *ṛṣi-s* in this hymn seems to be one of the earliest such enumerations. Our handbooks note that the earliest enumeration, before the discovery of the PS, was the BĀU II 2, 6.

3. **Kaśyapas sapatamāḥ:** Another hint as to the secondary nature of the *visarga* in the PS. In this instance the scribe did not re-insert ḥ after having removed final -s. When compared with *prathamaś śataudana* in pāda d, where the scribe has re-inserted ḥ instead of archetypal -ś, except in Mā₁, the editorial activities of a learned scribe, probably at the time of *B or immediately after, are clearly visible. See 13.7.2n above. Not all of the Orissa manuscripts have reinserted the expected ḥ in *prathamaś śataudanā*. It is possible that -s s- went through an intermediate step > -ø s-, in a similar way as the common -s sC- > -ø -sC, as is suggested strongly by the evidence in pāda c.

Kaśyapa ‘tortoise,’ like Indra and Agni, is said to be the offspring of the waters, cf. above PS 14.1.2. The tortoise is said to be ‘lord of the waters’ in VS 13.131, and in the AV appears as identical with Prajāpati, where he is called *svayambhū* ‘self-born’ AV 19.53.10. In ŚB 7.4.3.5, Prajāpati is said to become tortoise and thus produce all creatures – already reminiscent of the Churning of the Ocean story in Mahābhārata and Rāmāyāna.

5. 5c Tr. Rare break – | – –.

Mā₁, which more or less consistently marks pāda breaks, has placed the pāda break after *saṃvatsaram*. Whether the pāda break indicated in Mā₁ is correct or not, the only other metrical possibility is *‘adhirājam saṃvatasaram | patiṃ’*, which gives 7-11 and 11-8. It is also possible that pāda c had a *lacuna*, perhaps [*prajāpatim*] *patim asyā avidan*.

6. The **Agniṣṭoma** ritual is the basic Soma ritual, an *ekāha* – one day pressing in which Soma is pressed and offered in one day in a series of three pressings. It is characterized by a specific distribution of chants and recitations in three pressings: Prātaḥsavana ‘early morning pressing’, Mādhyandinasavana ‘midday pressing’, and the Trīyasavana ‘third pressing’ or evening pressing. The Agniṣṭoma is the name of the twelfth chant that provides the name for the ritual. Although an *ekāha* ritual, it may be extended to last five days. See Caland (1906).

The **Atirātra** ritual falls under the generic category of Jyotiṣṭoma. These rites are often complex variations upon the basic pattern of the Agniṣṭoma. The Atirātra involves a series of 19 *stotra-s* and *śāstra-s* that are chanted during an offering made to Indra Apīśarvara during a single night.

7. The **Aśvamedha** or ‘Horse Sacrifice’ is an old ritual, Indo-European in origin, which is performed by the king in order to increase his kingdom and power. After a series of initial offerings, the horse is set free to wander protected by 400 soldiers. They must guard the horse against any danger, including bathing and intercourse. During the yearlong wandering of the horse, the king’s realm is expanded as the horse enters foreign territory. If the king of the territory attempts to stop the horse, battle will break out. If the king of the territory is defeated in battle, that territory comes under the rule of the king carrying out the Aśvamedha. If the horse is allowed to pass through a territory unchallenged, the area becomes part of the new realm.

The **Vājapeya** is another of the 'great' rituals. It consist of one pressing day and at least 13 days of consecration and three Upasad days so that it may last at least 17 days, but could be extended to last a whole year. It's key structure is the addition to the *ṣodaśin* - the 3rd basic Soma paradigm (Agniṣṭoma) which is dedicated to Indra and consists of 15 *stotra-s* and 15 *śastra-s* and an additional 16th *stotra* and *śastra*, called the *ṣodaśin*, to which a 17th *stotra* and *śastra* is added. This ritual involves several unusual features: the most important being a race of 17 chariots and the climbing of the *yūpa* by the sacrificer and his wife. The ritual may be performed not only by a Brahmin or a *kṣatriya*, but also by a *vaiśya*. The Vājapeya's aim is to increase the sacrificer's prosperity.

8 The **Agnihotra** is the most basic Vedic ritual. It consists of two daily offerings of milk into the fire that comprises approximately 100 actions that take about 15 minutes. Its meaning is equally complicated. In essence, the ritual equates the guarding of fire at night with the safe passage of the sun through night ocean. In addition, the core desires of Vedic culture have been incorporated into this ritual: progeny, rain, cattle, long-life (100 years), and a place in heaven. See Bodewitz (1976) and Witzel (1982)

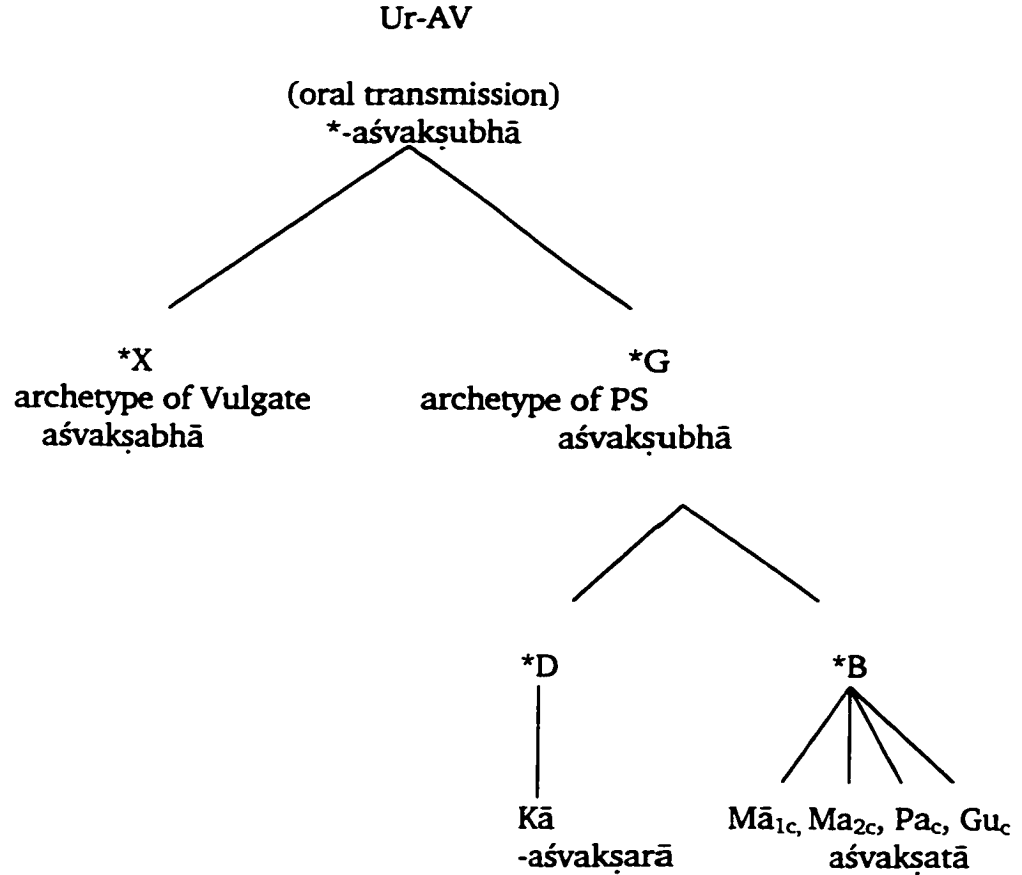
9. 9c Tr. 10 syllables.

1. **-aśvakṣubhā*: Approaching this reading through the lens of the influence of local pronunciation yields no result. *r* and *t* are unlikely to be confused, even under the influence of local Kashmiri and Oriya pronunciation. One then has to examine parallel contexts to try to come upon a possible reconstruction. A search of both *-aśvakṣata/-aśvakṣarā* yielded no help; both forms are unattested in the literature. In fact, *-kṣatā*, *-kṣarā*, *-akṣatā* or *-akṣarā* in the context of *aśva* also produced no specific examples. An examination of the surrounding context: *yoṣā*, *suhavā*, and *iṣirā* also yielded no information that would provide any clues to a possible reconstruction. Barrett (1927) already suggested a solution: "a word beginning with *su* seems fitting, and perhaps *svakṣarā* would be possible, even though not quotable." What is clear thus far is that, unlike Roth and Whitney, we must take the reading *-aśva* seriously. Whitney (1905) notes that all manuscripts and ŚS_{SPP}, *aśvakṣabhā*. This reading was discarded as being unintelligible. He reconstructed *viśvavyacāḥ* based on some unspecified reason.

All variants of PS attest *-aśvakṣa*. Even the proposed reconstruction by Barret, *svakṣarā* would not work; the pāda would be a syllable short. Although we could read *svakṣarā*, this emendation must be rejected on the ground that it would be impossible to explain how the readings of our manuscripts may have arisen from an original reading **svakṣarā*, especially with reference to *-rā* which in Early Nāgarī would not be so easily confused with *tā* or *bhā*. There are no paleographic grounds to explain **svakṣarā* > Or. *svakṣatā* as an error arising in copying from *G or in

copying from *B in Late Eastern Nāgarī/proto-Oriya. Cf. Tripathi (1963: Table 1 & 2).

The corruption of this reading goes back to the ur-AV. The historical developments can be seen as follows:



The reading in the *G (as well as the reading which the archetype of ŚS) can be explained based on a writing error. In Early Nāgarī script kṣu and kṣa can be easily confused. **kṣatā* in the Orissa manuscripts is the result of an old copying mistake in Early Nāgarī, bhā ~ tā. In the Kashmiri branch, the error is to be the result of the influence of pronunciation as well as paleographic developments, cf.

Chap. IIID above. *bhā* > [*bā*] is a typical MIA development. The graphical error *bhā* > *bā* > *rā* probably happened by the 12th century, when the sign for *ba* begins to appear in inscriptions and manuscripts; before the 12th century *ba* was represented by the sign for *va*. Cf. Deambi (1982).

3. 3d Tr. 10 syllables.

achāgan: -*cha*- deteriorated in pronunciation to -*ca*- and -*ja*-, in both Kashmir and Orissa, cf. above Chap. IIID-E. In Kashmir, *cha* = [tʰa] was simply deaspirated. See Witzel (1995: 21-28). The reading of *Mā*_{1c} is an orthographic error due to the confusion of -*ca*- and -*ta*-.

4. **varcas:** This is one of several abstract notions in the Veda. It is often an attribute of certain deities such as Agni, *āpas*, and Sūrya. The meaning of *varcas* is connected with light, brilliance, and shininess. In the Vedic context, especially that of ritual, *varcas* is associated with the force of brilliance of the *yajamāna* or king, which should surpass that of his enemies or competitors. This force, which should overcome an enemy, is associated with the sun. *Varcas* can also be taken away or stolen from one's challengers, e.g. AV 17.3.1-2. Soma is a source of *varcas* for Indra. *Varcas* is also connected directly connected to life concepts such as *prajā* 'progeny' and *āyus* 'life, long life.' The integral connection of *varcas* to life and kingship is seen in the Rājasūya as well as the medieval (and modern) coronation ritual of Nepal, where the king is endowed with the forces of life and thus rulership (*kṣatra*). See PS 14.2.2n above. See Gonda (1984) and Tsuchiyama (1990).

Siṃha, vyāghras, piśa, dvīpin: These animals are involved in the coronation ritual, Rājasūya. The king's throne is covered by the skin of these animals symbolizing strength that is now part of the king. Generally, the Vedic list of animal skins includes tiger (lion or cat) or a bull (hyena) and an antelope. In the medieval Rājyābhiṣeka, the bull, cat, hyena (*tarakṣu*), lion, and tiger are mentioned. Cf. Heesterman (1957: 114-157) and Witzel (1987c).

5. 5a Tr. 10 syllables.

The first *pāda* is one syllable short. According to Vishva Bandhu (1963) and Whitney's *Index Verborum*, *ahni*, L. sg. is attested twice in ŚS and three times in PS. Although it is tempting on metrical grounds to correct the reading to *ahani*, the better RV L. sg., there is no basis in our manuscripts to make such a change. Furthermore, the ŚS parallel of this *pāda*, ŚS 19.49.5 is also short one syllable. Considering that both versions of the text have 10 syllables in *this pāda*, correcting *ahni* to *ahani* is not called for. If this is a peculiarity of the PS, even when it goes against good (R̥gvedic meter), it must be preserved.

Pāda a consists of floating accusatives. Whitney (1905: 981), in his translation, proposes a new free conjectural reading: *śivā me rātry anūtsūryāṃ ca*. "An accusative is opposed by the connection, and the meter needs another syllable." I have translated the stanza without emendations by taking the accusatives of *pāda a* as the objects of *vande*. This syntax is awkward but allows us to translate the *pāda* as is.

6. **joṣasai:** The 2nd singular subjunctive ending *-sai* is always used instead of *-se* in the AV, according to Macdonell (1968:316), but never appears in the RV. The ending *-ai* has spread from the 1st singular to all forms in which *-e* would be expected.

7. 7c. *Lectio difficilior.* This is another error that goes back beyond the archetype to the ur-AV. Whitney's edited text reads *rātrī hi tātānu tapa*. The variant reading noted by Lindenau (1966: 382) is *rātrī hitānasupā*. In his translation, Whitney (1905: 981) notes that the text is *rātrī: hitā[or hi: tā]: nah: suta pā*. *apa-*, if this is indeed what the last word of the pāda should be, occurs in a very unusual position. He additionally notes, that the commentary (and ŚS_{SPP}) read *rātrī hi tātā asutapā*.

With the variants as given, we arrive at: *rātrī hitā nas s??ap?*. The first half of the pāda is clear enough, 'the friendly night.' The problem is then what to make out of the *s??ap?*. One might expect a verb here – pāda final – but it seems impossible to get a verb that makes sense out of this. In addition, one would have to think possibly of an unaugmented form, perhaps an injunctive. One could also think of a verb with the preceding *nas*, but that also does get one closer to a solution. *√nas* 'to destroy' might work, but again the following *apa* remains problematic, as well as what to do with the intervening *akṣara* between the *nas*- and d-.

A possibility is **suta/pā* 'who has good cots or beds,' thus good sleep. Early Nāgarī -l- in conjunct consonants is a small hook, on the left of the p, which can be

easily lost or missed. This seems to fit nicely into our pāda with somewhat awkward syntax. Pāda c would then be a series of adjective in apposition to *rātr*,” which would continue the theme of pāda a. In the same manner, the subject of d, the thieves, seems to be liked to pāda b with the relative pronoun *ye*.

10 **āsiṣat**: iṣ-aorist subjunctive *√as* ‘to sit.’ The confusion of *ś* ~ *ṣ* ~ *s* is typical of North India and found quite often in both Kā and Orissa manuscripts.

1. **ṛṣṭadhūman:** This reconstruction seems likely based on the fact that ṛ > i in Vedic manuscripts in Kashmir. In addition, ṛ is realized often as [ri] in Oriya. These two factors make probable that *ṛṣṭ^o > *ṛiṣṭ^o > ṛiṣṭha through the re-interpretation based on the well-known ṛiṣṭha-stem of √sthā. See Witzel (1985, 1995a).
3. **rātrim-rātrim:** This is an *amreḍita* compound as defined by P 8.1.1 *sarvasya dve*, 8.1.2 *tasya parāmreḍitam*, 8.1.3 *anudāttam ca*, and continuing through 8.1.15. These types of compounds are well known and occur quite frequently in Vedic as it is shown by the single accent in the compound. Recently, G. Cardona (1996) has discussed the treatment of compounds of the type *dive dive* by Śākalya and other *pāḍakara-s*. His discussion illuminates the inherent differences in how Pāṇini and the *pāḍakara-s* treat these types of compounds. For Pāṇini, the second element of the iteration is not treated as a compound simply because it is unaccented. The key in Pāṇini's system is the idea that only one member of a possible series of terms which are put together in a compound with the same form can occur as a single remainder when a single ending is used (P 1.2.6). Thus for Pāṇini it is impossible to consider *dive dive* as a *dvanda* compound. The importance of the concept of the single remainder (*ekasēṣa*) thus makes clear why 8.1.15 are necessary in the grammar. Even though Pāṇini's system accounts for such compounds as *parasmaipāda* – compounds in which each member has a different case ending – the key is that the two members are not the same. From an internal point of view to the system of Pāṇini's grammar, the *ekasēṣa* rule also makes clear why there is a

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certain perceived redundancy in the system: having two ways of making compounds. Getting rid of *ekaśeṣa* would make 8.1.1 etc. redundant, but would then introduce another series of problems into the system.

APPENDIX I

This appendix proves a sample of typical and not so typical errors found in the manuscripts of the PS from Kashmir and Orissa used for the present edition. The list provided here is not exhaustive. Many of the errors that appear repeatedly throughout the manuscripts have not been exhaustively tabulated. Most of the errors included can be clearly attributed either the influence of local languages (Kashmiri and Oriya) on recitation or to problems arising from paleographic developments. These errors have been indicated by [AUD] = auditory or [GRPH] = graphical. In some instances, graphical errors have been narrowed down to the stage in the transmission where they occur.

Errors that have not been explained as either arising from one of these two categories are due to re-interpretation, or in most cases, reasons cannot be deduce. These errors have not been marked.

Some typical graphical errors have not been included on the list. Among these are: $ch > \acute{s}ch$, $Cr > CCr$, $rC > rCC$, the typical confusion of nasals $\dot{n}/\ddot{n}/\grave{n}/n/m/\acute{m}$ and $\grave{h}/\acute{h}/\grave{h}$. These have not been counted. In addition, the endemic shortening and lengthening of vowels, especially, i/\bar{i} and u/\bar{u} in the Orissa manuscripts, has not been included.

A general discussion of these errors and the influence on the transmission of the PS is present in Chap. III above.

Appendix I

Graphical, Auditory, and other mistakes in Kā, Mā₁, Mā₂, Pa, and Gu.

	Kā	Mā	Ma	Pa	Gu
a < > i					
a > i	13.2.6a, 13.3.1c, 13.3.6d, 13.4.1d, 13.5.4b, 14.3.10a 14.5.6a, 14.5.8c, 14.5.9c, 14.6.1c, 14.6.6b, 14.8.3c, 14.9.1b [AUD]			13.8.1c, 14.5.7 [AUD]	
i > a	13.3.1c, 13.3.4a, 13.5.7c, 14.3.1a, 14.8.3d 14.8.4b [AUD]	13.3.6d [AUD]	13.3.6d [AUD]	13.3.6d [AUD]	13.3.6d [AUD]
a < > ī					
ī > a	14.3.10b [AUD]				
a < > u					
a > u	14.1.1c, 14.3.2b, 14.8.9a, 14.9.5c [AUD]	14.1.1c [AUD]		14.7.7c [AUD]	14.7.7c [AUD]
u > a	13.2.6b, 13.4.7b, 13.5.3a, 14.5.8a [AUD]			13.3.1c [AUD]	13.3.1c, 14.9.7d [AUD]
a < > ū					
-ū- > -a-	13.4.2a [AUD]				
a < > ṛ					
a > ṛ	13.3.3a [AUD]			13.3.3a [?]	13.3.3a [?]
ṛ > a	13.3.7c [?]				
a < > e					
a > e	13.3.7c [AUD]	14.1.4a [AUD]		14.2.9d [AUD]	14.2.9d [AUD]
e > a	13.1.4a, 13.8.2c, 14.2.2b [AUD]			14.5.2a [AUD]	14.5.2a [AUD]
a < > ai					
a < > o					
a > o	14.1.2b [AUD]				
o > a	14.7.9d [AUD]				
a < > au					
a > au	13.2.5c				
au > a	14.2.1a				

a >					
-a e->- aya-	13.3.7d				
-a e-> -aye-				13.8.5e [AUD]	
-a >-at	13.1.1c				
-a u-> -ar u-	14.3.2a				
-aya-> -a-	13.7.1d [AUD]				
-aya-> -aiya-	14.5.4c				
-ayai-> -a e-	14.5.4d				
-an >					
-an > -a	13.3.1d [AUD]				
-an >- am	13.3.9d [AUD]				
-ann > - amn	14.5.5c [AUD]				
-am >					
-am > -a	13.2.4a [AUD ?]				
-am >- am				13.3.1a [AUD]	
-am̐ >					
-am̐ >- an		13.3.5d, 13.5.1d [AUD]	13.5.1d [AUD]	13.5.1d [AUD]	13.5.1d [AUD]
-am̐ >- am					
-am̐ >- ām			13.3.9b [AUD]		
-am̐ >					
-am̐ > -o	14.5.5b, 14.6.2a [AUD]				
-ah̐ >					
-ah̐ > -a	13.3.7d, 13.4.7d [AUD]				
-ah̐ > -āh̐	13.3.2b [AUD]				
ā <> ī					
ā > ī			14.5.5c [?]	14.5.5c [?]	14.5.5c [?]
ī > a	13.5.6c [AUD]			13.1.5a [?]	13.1.5a [?]
ā <> e					
e > ā					14.1.8b [?]
ā > e					
ā <> o					
ā-> o	14.6.5c [AUD]			14.1.8c [AUD]	13.3.1d [AUD]

-āñ <>					
-āñ > -āñ		13.5.9a [AUD]	13.5.9a [AUD]		13.5.9a [AUD]
-āñ > -ām	13.5.5c, 13.5.4c [AUD]	13.5.4c [AUD]	13.5.4c [AUD]	13.5.4c [AUD]	13.5.4c [AUD]
-āñ m- > -ām n-					13.1.5a [AUD]
-āñ <>					
-āñ > -āna			13.2.4d [AUD ?]	13.2.4d [AUD ?]	13.2.4d [AUD ?]
-āñ > -ām	13.1.1d, 13.2.7d, 13.2.4d, 14.6.1b [AUD]				
-āñ m- > -ā m-	14.5.6c [AUD]				
ār- > ar-				13.2.3b [AUD]	
-ām <>					
-ām > -ā				14.6.1a [GRAPH]	
-ām > -āñ	13.1.1d, 13.2.1b [AUD]				
-ām > -āñ m-	13.2.1 [AUD]				
-āḥ > -ā	13.1.10a [AUD]				
-āḥ >					
-āḥ > -ā	14.5.6a, 14.5.9d [AUD]				
-ā i-> -āyi-	13.3.8d [AUD]				
-āms > -ās	14.5.3v, 14.6.5c, 14.7.6c [AUD]	14.7.6c [AUD]			
-āyai > -ā i-	14.2.4c [AUD]				
i <> ī					
i > ī	13.2.2b [AUD]	13.1.10a [AUD]	13.1.10a [AUD]	13.1.10a [AUD]	13.1.10a, 14.8.5a [AUD]
ī > i	14.6.4b, 14.6.7c [AUD]	13.4.1c [AUD]	13.4.1c [AUD]	13.4.1c [AUD]	13.4.1c [AUD]
i <> u					
i > u	13.3.6d, 13.3.9d, 13.5.6a, 14.2.6c, 14.3.5a [R]				
u > i	13.7.5c, 14.6.4d, 14.6.8c, 14.7.1c [R]				

i <> e					
e > i	13.8.2d [AUD]				
i >					
i > ɾ					
i > yu	13.3.2d [AUD]				
ir > ɾ					13.4.1a [AUD]
-i y- > - y-	13.7.7a, 13.7.9d [AUD]				
ims > yūs	13.4.1d [AUD ?]				
ī <> e					
ī > e	14.8.4b [AUD]				
e > ī	13.1.7a, 14.2.7b, 14.8.4d [AUD]				
ī <> ai					
ī > ai	13.8.4am 14.2.8d [AUD ?]				
ai > ī	13.8.1e, 14.5.5b [AUD ?]				
ī >					
ī > o	13.1.5a [GRAPH *G/*B]				
-ī ā- > -ī yā-	14.6.7c [AUD]				
-ī u- > -yau-	14.6.8a [AUD]				
-ī- > -ya-	13.7.5a [AUD]				
-īr > -īh				13.1.6a [?]	
-īm > -ī			14.5.7d [GRPH]		14.5.7d [GRPH]
u <> ū					
u > ū		13.3.5c [AUD]			
ū > u		14.6.6c [AUD]	13.3.3d, 13.3.10a 14.6.6c [AUD]	14.6.3b, 14.6.6c [AUD]	14.6.6c [AUD]
u <> ɾ					
u > ɾ			13.5.4b [AUD]		
ɾ > u	14.8.1c [AUD]				
u <> e					
u > e	14.8.5d [?]				
u > o					
u > o	13.6.5a [AUD]				
u >					
u > ra	13.3.2c [?]				

ud- > id-	13.3.2c [R]	13.3.2c [R]	13.3.2c [R]	13.3.2 [R]	13.3.2c [R]
ur > ʀ				14.6.9b [AUD/GRPH]	14.6.9b [AUD/GRPH]
uʃ > juʃ	14.9.7 [AUD ?]				
ū <> ā					
ū > ā	13.4.2a, 13.5.4c [AUD]				
ū <> o					
ū > o	14.6.6c				
ū>					
Cū > va				13.3.10a[GRPH]	13.3.10a[GRPH]
ʀ <> ri					
ʀ > ri	14.5.3c, 14.5.6a [AUD]		14.6.1d [AUD]		
ri > ʀ		13.4.6d [AUD]		13.4.6d [AUD]	13.4.6d [AUD]
ʀ <> ru					
ʀ > ru		13.2.3b [AUD/GRPH]	14.1.9c, 14.2.3c, 14.2.4a, 14.5.9a, 14.6.9c, 14.7.5c [AUD/GRPH]		13.1.5b [AUD/GRPH]
ru > ʀ	13.1.5b, 13.3.4b [AUD]	13.4.6ad,13.5.5a 13.5.10a 13.6.2a 14.1.1b, 14.1.6c, 14.1.7a, 14.1.8c, 14.2.7c, 14.2.9b, 14.3.1c, 14.3.2c, 14.3.3b, 14.3.8a, 14.3.9ab,14.5.6d 14.5.7a, 14.6.1d, 14.6.3b, 14.6.6c, 14.7.1d,14.8.2a, 14.8.4cd,14.8.1c [AUD/GRPH]	13.3.4a [AUD/GRPH]	13.3.4a, 13.5.5a, 14.1.8c, 14.3.3b, 14.3.8a,14.3.9ab 14.6.6c, 14.7.1d, 14.8.2a [AUD/GRPH]	13.1.5b,13.3.4a, 13.4.6a, 13.5.5a, 13.5.10a 13.6.2a 14.1.1b,14.1.2a, 14.1.6c, 14.1.7a, 14.1.8c,14.2.7c, 14.2.9b, 14.3.1c, 14.3.2c, 14.3.3b, 14.3.5d,14.3.8a, 14.3.9abc, 14.5.6d,14.5.7a, 14.6.1d, 14.6.3b, 14.6.6c, 14.7.1d, 14.8.2a,14.8.4cd 14.8.10c [AUD/GRPH]
ʀ <> rū					
ʀ > rū					
rū > ʀ		13.3.3a, 14.5.7c, 14.7.9a [AUD/GRPH]	14.5.7c [AUD/GRPH]	14.5.7c, 14.7.9a [AUD/GRPH]	13.3.3, 14.5.7c, 14.7.9a [AUD/GRPH]
ʀ >					
ʀ > rā				14.5.9a [?]	14.5.9a [?]
-ʀhṇā-> -ʀbhū-	14.1.6a [GRPH]				
e <> ī	See ī <> e				

e <> ai					
e > ai	14.8.3a [AUD ?]				
ai > e	14.6.9c, 14.7.8ac [AUD ?]		14.5.5b [AUD ?]		
e >					
-e ā- > - ayā-	13.9.6 [AUD]				
-e- > -o-	13.2.5b, 13.5.2b, 13.5.8a [GRPH *G/*B]				14.2.1c [GRPH]
e- > ya-	14.5.8a [AUD]				
-e- > -ye-		13.4.4c, 14.8.3a [AUD]	13.4.4c, 14.8.3a [AUD]	13.4.4c, 14.8.3a [AUD]	13.4.4c, 14.1.2b [AUD]
-e y- > -e ø-	14.1.8b [AUD]				
-e ham- > -e yam-	13.2.4a, 13.4.6c [AUD]				
ai <> e	See e <> ai				
ai >					
ai > ū	13.5.9a [R]				
ai > ahi	13.1.1a, 13.2.4c [R]				
o <> e					
-o > -e	13.2.5b, 13.4.4a, 13.6.5a, 14.5.8a [GRPH]				
o <> au					
o > au	13.6.5d, 14.3.9a [GRPH]				
au > o	13.2.2a, 13.2.5c, 14.5.3b, 14.6.1a, 14.6.8b [AUD/ GRPH]	14.6.8b [AUD/ GRPH]	14.6.8b [AUD/ GRPH]	14.6.8b [AUD/ GRPH]	14.6.8b [AUD/ GRPH]
au <> a	See a <> au				
au <> o	See o <> au				
! >					
! > l	1				
k					
k > p	13.8.3b [?]				
ka > va		13.3.9c [GRPH]			
kāpā > ka	13.1.9				
-kr- > -ka-				14.5.5a	14.5.5a

-kṛ- > -śva-	145.5a				
-kt- > -t-	14.5.5c [GRPH *G / *D]				
kṣ > kh	14.2.5a, 14.3.5a [AUD]				
kṣ- > y-				13.3.1c [GRPH]	13.3.1c [GRPH]
ksyā > kspa		13.1.9a [GRPH]	13.1.9a [GRPH]	13.1.9a [GRPH]	13.1.9a [GRPH]
g					
-ge- > -to-			14.8.3a GRPH]		
g > k	13.1.1d, 13.2.4d, 13.3.10b, 14.3.6b 14.9.7 [AUD]			13.1.1d, 13.3.10b [AUD]	
g > gh	14.5.6c [AUD]	14.8.2a [AUD]			14.8.2 [AUD]
g > ś	13.5.9c [GRPH ?]				
ś > g				14.8.9d [GRPH]	14.8.9d [GRPH]
g > s					14.8.9d
C					
ca > cā				13.1.1c [AUD]	13.1.1c [AUD]
ca > tu		14.2.7a	14.2.7a	14.2.7a	14.2.7a
cau > cyo	13.2.5c [AUD ?]				
c > j	13.5.2a [AUD]				
-c- > -t-	13.3.3d [AUD]				
-c- > - d-	13.2.6d, 13.5.7a, 14.7.6.d [GRPH *G / *D]				
c > v	14.4.4d [GRPH *G / *B]				
ch					
ch > c	14.8.3b [AUD]				14.8.3b [AUD]
ch > g		14.8.3b		14.8.3g	
ch > t			14.8.3b		
ch- > śch-	Everywhere in Kā [GRPH]				
j					
j > d				14.2.2c [GRPH]	
j > m	14.8.6b				
jyo > yo		13.8.2d [AUD]	13.8.2d [AUD]	13.8.2d [AUD]	13.8.2d [AUD]
j > r	13.6.4b [GRPH ?]				
ñ					

-ṇcc > -cya	14.1.1c, 14.1.6c [AUD]				
ṭ					
ṭā > ṭyā	14.8.3d [AUD]				
-ṭ- > - ṛṭ-				13.3.10d	13.3.10d
ṭh <> ṭ					
ṭh > ṭ	14.3.2b [AUD]	14.6.8c, 14.8.2b [AUD]	14.6.8c, 14.8.2b [AUD]	14.6.8c, 14.8.2b [AUD]	14.6.8c, 14.8.2b [AUD]
ṭ > ṭh	14.7.2d				
D					
ḍ > ḷ	13.6.2b [AUD]				
ḍ > ḍ				14.5.7b [AUD]	14.5.7b [AUD]
ḍ > ḷ	13.5.7b [AUD]				
t					
t > c	14.3.3d[AUD]				
t > j	13.3.8b, 14.7.9d [AUD]				
t > th	13.7.6d [AUD ?]				
t > d	14.3.10cde, 14.6.8b [AUD]	13.7.3d [AUD ?]	13.7.3d [AUD ?]	13.7.3d [AUD ?]	13.7.3d [AUD ?]
t > dh	14.3.4b [AUD ?]				
t > bh	13.5.2c, 14.3.4a, 14.7.2c, 14.7.6a [GRPH]		14.6.3b [GRPH]	13.5.2c[GRPH]	13.5.2c[GRPH]
-t- > -p-	14.5.3d	13.2.5b, 13.2.6b, [GRPH]		13.2.5b [GRPH]	
-t- > -tv-	13.4.7d,14.2.2c [AUD]				
-t- > -ś-	13.5.7b				
t > h				14.6.5b [GRPH]	
-tn- > -nn-	13.7.4c[GRPH *G / *D]				
-ty- > -tv-	13.3.6c [GRPH]				
ty > bhr	14.1.9c [GRPH]				
trā > dhū	14.8.3c				
-tr- > -tn-	13.5.7c, 14.8.2c [GRPH *G / *D]				
-tv- > -rś-	13.4.4a				
tv > sv	13.5.4b				
-tv- > - h-				13.4.4c [GRPH ?]	
-ts- >		14.1.7b [AUD]	14.1.7b [AUD]	14.1.7b [AUD]	14.1.7b [AUD]

-ch-					
-ts- > -sch-	13.5.7b, 14.8.6d [AUD]				
-t d- > -ø d-	14.5.7a [AUD]				
t <> th					
t > th	14.2.6d [AUD]				
th > t	14.6.8a, 14.6.10d 14.7.1b [AUD]				
d					
d > k	14.2.8d				
-d > -g	13.4.5c				
d > c	13.2.4b				
d > j	13.4.2a				
d > ɖ	13.6.1a [AUD]				
d > t	13.5.2b [AUD]				
d > th	14.9.6c [AUD ?]				
d > dh	13.2.10c, 13.5.2b 13.5.4a, 13.6.1b, 13.6.5a, 14.7.2c, 14.8.4b [AUD]	14.5.3b [AUD]	14.5.3b [AUD]	14.5.3b [AUD]	14.5.3b [AUD]
d > n	14.5.7b, 14.6.8c [GRPH *G/ *D]				
d > bh	14.8.7d [GRPH]				
d > r	13.3.3b, 14.2.10b [GRPH *D ?]				
-d > -ṃ				13.4.5c	13.4.5c
-dya > -dvi	14.9.6a [AUD]				
dyah > dah				13.1.8a [GRPH]	13.1.8a [GRPH]
dṛ > da	14.3.10ac				
dv > dh					13.5.6b
dh					
dh > gh		14.9.5			
dh > d	13.2.4b, 13.5.2b, 13.5.3c, 13.5.4a, 14.4.5a, 14.5.9d 14.6.4d [AUD]		14.9.1 [AUD]	14.5.10a [AUD]	
dh > p					13.1.6a [GRPH *B]
dh > y	14.1.10a [GRPH]				
-dh- > -r-	13.2.6c				

-dh- > -v-	13.5.7c [GRPH *D?]				
dh > ṣ	13.5.9c [GRPH]				
dhi > dhr	13.2.3a [AUD]				
dhānn > dhnān					14.5.8c [GRPH]
dhya > ddha				14.7.7a [GRPH]	14.7.7a [GRPH]
n					
n > d	14.9.5 [GRPH *B]				
-n > -ṃ	13.3.7a,d [AUD]				
-n- > -l-	13.3.6a [GRPH *G/ *B]				
n > v	14.5.5d [GRPH]				
ne > nye	14.4.5c [AUD]				
-nC- > -rC-	13.3.4c [GRPH]				
-nt- > -mt-	13.5.9b, 14.1.7a, 14.3.5a, 14.3.8cd [AUD]	13.5.4b [AUD]	13.5.4b [AUD]	13.5.4b [AUD]	13.5.4b [AUD]
-nyāya- > -nyā-	14.5.7c				
-n hy- > -dhy-	13.5.4c [AUD ?]				
P					
p > k	13.3.4c				
p > d	14.6.5b				
p > n	14.8.4a				
p > b	14.8.1d [AUD]				
p > bh	14.8.1d [AUD]				
p > m	14.5.4a [GRPH ?]				
-p- > -y-			13.1.8b, 13.1.10a [GRPH]		
-pa- > -va-	13.3.9b, 14.2.10d [AUD]		14.4.2b [AUD]	14.4.2b [AUD]	14.4.2b [AUD]
-pa- > -vi-	13.3.8d				
pu- > pra-	13.3.2c [GRPH]				
pe > to				13.7.9a [GRPH]	
pra > pa	14.5.1d				

b					
b > t	14.1.9a, 14.8.5c [GRPH ?]				
bi > svi	13.6.1a				
bh					
Bh > t	14.3.4a [GRPH]	14.8.1a [GRPH]	14.8.1a [GRPH]	14.8.1a [GRPH]	14.8.1a [GRPH]
-bh- > -dh-	13.3.8c [GRPH]				
-bh- > -n-	13.5.8b [GRPH *G/ *D]				
bh > m	14.9.5 [GRPH ?]				
bh > r	14.8.1a				
-bh- > -v-	13.3.9d, 13.4.5c [AUD]	13.1.1a [AUD]			
-bha- > -vi-	13.1.1a, 13.2.4c				
bh > ś			14.8.4d [GRPH ?]		
bh > h	13.2.4b [AUD]	13.3.6d [AUD ?]			
bhy > ti	13.6.1a [GRPH]				
-bhra- > -kra-	14.7.7a [GRPH]				
M					
m > c	13.4.4a, 14.5.4a [GRPH]				
m > d	13.5.1a				
m > n	14.5.3a, 14.9.4a [AUD]				
m > v	14.5.2a, 14.5.7b	14.5.6b	14.5.6b	14.5.6b	14.5.6b
ma > sa	13.1.10a, 13.2.51 3.2.6a, 13.3.2c, 13.3.7c, 13.5.1b, 13.5.8a, 14.3.2c, 14.5.2a, 14.5.5c, 14.5.10a, 14.6.4b [GRPH]				
ma > pi	13.4.1d [GRPH ?]				
mā > myā		13.4.6d	13.4.6d	13.4.6d	13.4.6d
mū > mya	13.1.10b				
me > spa					13.1.4a [GRPH]
-mr̥ṇ- > -mr̥ṇ-		13.4.2a			
-mr̥ṇ- > -nr̥mṇ-	13.4.2a [AUD]				

m > p	13.4.1d, 14.7.4d [GRPH]				
y					
y > j	14.6.8b [AUD]				
ye > e	13.7.3d [AUD]				
Cy > Cp					13.5.8c [GRPH]
Cy > Cv		14.7.9b [GRPH]	14.7.9b [GRPH]		
r					
R > j	13.6.4b				
-r- > -d-	14.6.7a				
r > d	14.9.3, 14.9.4 [GRPH ?]				
-r- > - n-	14.5.10c [GRPH]				
-ra- > - rra-					13.2.6d [AUD ?]
r > l	14.9.3 [Aud ?]				
ri > ru			13.4.6d [AUD]		
ri > vi	13.4.6d [GRPH]				
-ru- > -r-	14.3.9a [AUD]				
-ru- > - rC-	13.3.4a				
-re- > - ra-	13.2.4d [GRPH]				
-rṣ- > -riṣ-		14.3.5b [AUD]	14.3.5b [AUD]	14.3.5b [AUD]	
v					
v > n	14.8.2cd, 14.8.4c [GRPH]				
v > p				14.8.2a [GRPH]	
v > bh	14.8.2a [GRPH ?]				
v > r	14.2.10a [GRPH ?]				
v > s	13.3.9d				
vi > dvi	13.3.9d				
vi > dhi	14.7.5d				
vi > vya	14.5.9a [AUD]				
vī > vyā	14.5.4a [AUD]				
-vṛ > -ru-	14.5.6b [AUD]				
vya > dya	13.4.7b [GRPH *G/*D]				

ś					
ś > kh	13.4.5d, 13.5.4c [AUD]				
ś > c	14.7.9c [AUD/GRPH]				
ś > n	14.3.7c				
ś > p	14.8.4a [GRPH]				
ś > śch	14.3.6b [AUD]				
ś > ṣ		13.5.4a [AUD]	13.3.10c, 13.5.4c [AUD]	13.3.10c, 13.5.4c [AUD]	13.3.10b,c, 13.5.4c [AUD]
ś > s	13.3.2d, 13.5.4a [AUD]	14.2.10b [AUD]	14.2.10b [AUD]	14.2.10b [AUD]	14.1.2c, 14.1.5b [AUD]
śa > śru	14.7.5a				
śya > śc	13.8.4a [GRPH ?]				
śya > tya	13.9.5				
śn > ṣn	14.7.6d [AUD]				
śri > śṛ	14.3.9d [AUD]				
śrī > śa	14.3.5c				
śrī > śṛṛ		14.3.5c [AUD ?]			
śva > śya	13.1.7a [GRPH ?]				
śva > śri	14.8.3d				
ṣ					
ṣ > k	13.5.1b [AUD]				
ṣ > kh	14.8.1a [AUD]				
ṣ > m	13.5.8a [GRPH]				
ṣ > p				13.1.3a [GRPH]	13.1.3a [GRPH]
ṣ > ś	13.4.5c, 14.1.10b [AUD]	14.3.9e [AUD]	13.3.5d, 13.3.10c 13.4.5c, 13.5.2d, 14.3.9e [AUD]	14.3.9e, 14.4.2c, 14.8.2b [AUD]	14.3.9e [AUD]
ṣ > s	13.5.1 [AUD]				14.1.10b [AUD]
-ṣi- > -śri-	13.3.6b				
ṣṭ > śṛ	13.3.2c				
ṣṭ > ṣv		13.3.2c	13.3.2c	13.3.2c	13.3.2c
-ṣva- > -sū-		14.2.8c [AUD ?]	14.2.8c [AUD ?]	14.2.8c [AUD ?]	14.2.8c [AUD ?]
-ṣva- > -suk	14.2.8c				
s					
si > sva	13.3.8b				
s > t	13.5.7b				

s > d			13.3.8a		
s > m	13.1.4a, 13.1.5a, 13.5.3c, 13.6.5c, 14.3.2c, 14.3.6b, 14.5.8a, 14.6.9d		13.1.5a [GRPH]		
	13.1.10 [GRPH]				
s > ś	13.3.7d [AUD]	13.3.8b, 13.8.4d, 14.7.3b [AUD]	13.3.8b, 13.8.4d, 14.7.3b [AUD]	13.3.8b, 13.8.4d, 14.7.3b [AUD]	13.3.8b, 13.8.4d, 14.7.3b [AUD]
s > ṣ	14.1.3a, 14.3.8d [AUD]		14.1.3a [AUD]	14.1.3a [AUD]	14.1.3a [AUD]
s > h				13.3.8a [GRPH *B]	13.3.8a [GRPH *B]
su > sva	14.8.3a [AUD ?]				
sṛ > sa	14.5.8c				
sau > śve	14.3.5a [AUD ?]				
-stv-> - sv				13.6.5b [GRPH]	13.6.5b [GRPH]
-stv-> - ss	13.6.5b [GRPH ?]]				
-sya- >-śca-		14.2.10d [AUD ?]	14.2.10d [AUD ?]	14.2.10d [AUD ?]	14.2.10d [AUD ?]
sya > cya	14.6.5d [GRPH]				
sra > sṛ	13.4.1a [AUD ?]				
-sv- > sṛ					
svā > sv	14.5.2a [AUD]				
h					
-ha- > - ya-	13.2.4a [GRPH]				
h > bh	14.8.5b [AUD]				
huve > hvai	13.4.6c [AUD]				
-hn- > - lh	13.4.1c [GRPH *G/*D]				
hya > jya		14.5.3b, 14.5.5a [AUD ?]	14.5.3b, 14.5.5a [AUD ?]	14.5.3b, 14.5.5a [AUD ?]	14.5.3b, 14.5.5a [AUD ?]
-hy- > - sy-	13.2.5d, 13.2.6a [GRPH]				
ḥś > ś	13.5.9a				

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